

HISTORY OF BROOKLINE



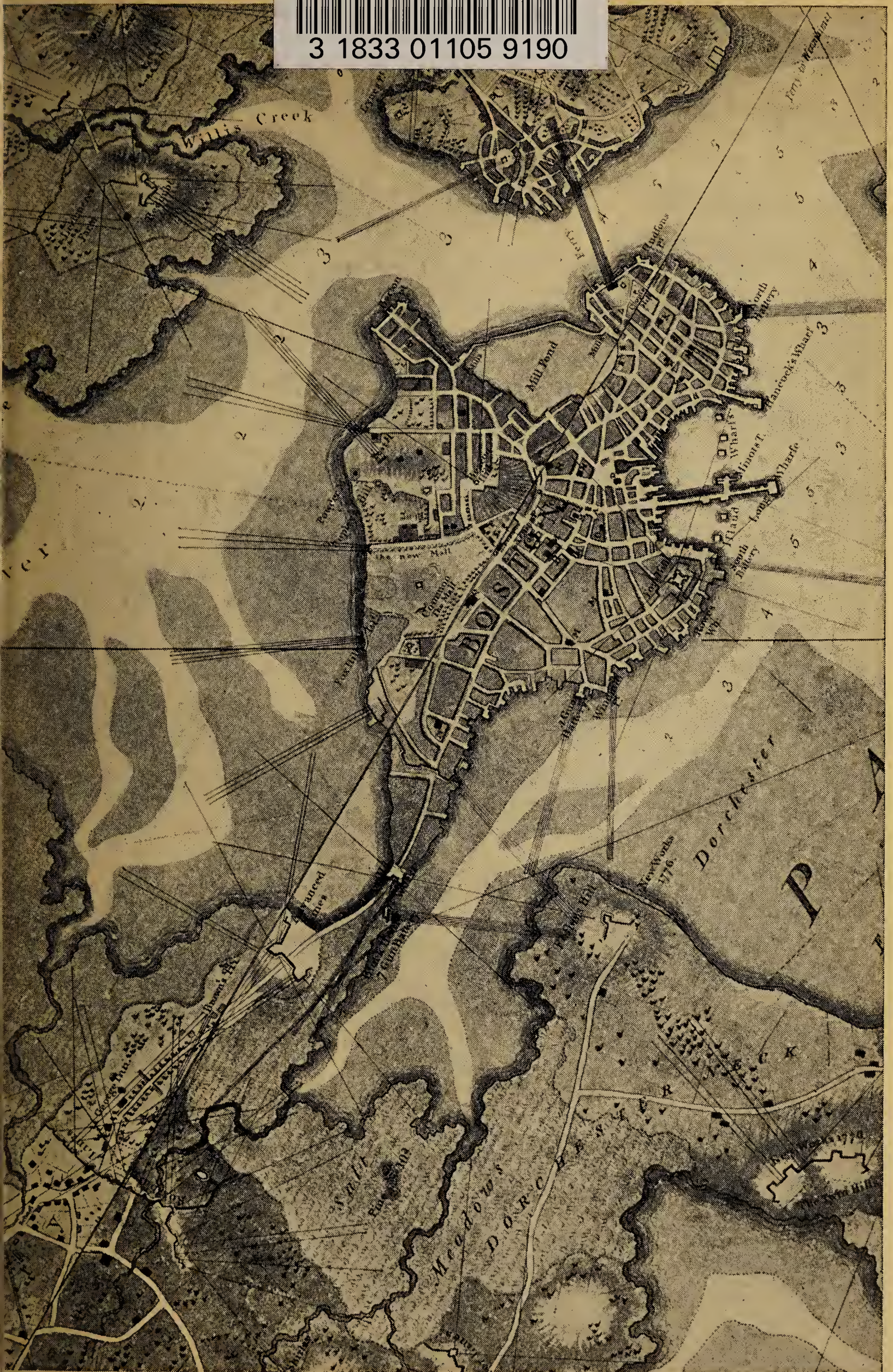
A MEMORIAL
TO
EDWARD W. BAKER

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HISTORY OF THE
TOWN OF BROOKLINE



EDWARD WILD BAKER
1859-1928

HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF BROOKLINE MASSACHUSETTS

BY
JOHN GOULD CURTIS

A MEMORIAL TO
EDWARD W. BAKER

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE BROOKLINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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PREFACE

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THIS book should have been written by Edward Wild Baker. Fitted by his spirit of historical inquiry, his long familiarity with the subject, and his gift for interesting narration, he was repeatedly urged by fellow-members of the Brookline Historical Society to correlate and elaborate his various papers into a comprehensive history of the town. Only a year before his death, which occurred on January 28, 1928, the society's president, Mr. William O. Comstock, 'on being authorized, appointed Dr. Francis P. Denny, Messrs. Charles H. Stearns, Albert Hale, Charles F. White and William C. Hunneman as a Committee to wait on Mr. Baker in regard to his writing a History of Brookline.'

Unhappily, this was not to be, but after his passing, an alternative was settled upon when the society determined to publish a town history as a memorial to Mr. Baker. Preparation of this volume was made possible by the generous subscriptions of Brookline citizens who wished to join in tribute to the memory of their fellow-townsmen. The first subscriber to the project, at the time when it was expected that Edward Wild Baker would himself be the author, was Charles W. Holtzer, a native of Germany, who made Brookline his home and enthusiastically identified himself with the progress of the community.

To the Brookline Historical Society's original committee were added Miss H. Alma Cummings, Messrs. Ernest B. Dane and Stephen B. Davol, and Miss Louisa M. Hooper. Mr. William O. Comstock, president of the society, also served until his death, October 8, 1931. This committee at length entered into an agreement with Dr. John F. Sly of Harvard, an authority on town government, to write the book. Dr. Sly had finished the text of the first four chapters when his professional work called him to another university, and he was obliged to give up the undertaking.

It was at this stage that the project came to my hands. Although I have composed the story of Brookline in the hills

of Pennsylvania, I have not approached the subject wholly as an outlander. My Curtis ancestors were immigrants to Roxbury from Stratford-on-Avon in 1632, and in England William Curtis had married the sister of John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, who seems to have been, in effect, Brookline's first minister. Nine years of residence in Cambridge served to give me some familiarity with the region, and participation in the *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts* provided a background of regional history.

In a national or state history it is possible to incorporate much of the sweep of events — of the broad economic and social and cultural changes that help comprehensibly to explain the present in the light of the past. Community history, on the other hand, is enacted for the most part on a miniature scale. It is to be studied with a microscope rather than a telescope. Too often its detail can be enlivened for the lay reader only by the labored introduction of not very instructive anecdotes. Sometimes, of course, it is possible to correlate local activities with national events, and thus give them wider meaning.

There is, I think, in any case, a significant thread of continuity running through Brookline's three centuries. It is the story of the establishment and maintenance, often in the face of serious difficulties, of the most completely democratic form of local government imaginable. It is the story of the triumph of the town meeting in an age when supposedly advanced expedients have failed.

The amount of detail necessary to completeness does not make for very lively reading, though I have sought to avoid what might be thought a scholarly style. Quotations from contemporary records are reproduced exactly, with no attempt to correct spelling or punctuation. The first four chapters of the present volume are really Dr. Sly's work, rephrased in part and stripped of his elaborate documentation in footnotes. Credit for the exhaustive research involved should, however, go to him, and his manuscript may be consulted in the Brookline Public Library.

Mr. Baker's manuscripts and notes, as well as published papers which he read before the Brookline Historical Society, have been quoted at length in every appropriate connection.

This reflects both the incomparable value of his work, and the desire to incorporate as much of it as possible in a book dedicated to his memory.

For the rest, free use has been made of the standard historical and genealogical works relating to Massachusetts, of a variety of letters, diaries and personal memorials particularly mentioned in the text, all the existing, somewhat incomplete histories of Brookline, and in particular the publications of the Brookline Historical Publication Society and the Brookline Historical Society, as well as the official records of the town.

Miss Louisa M. Hooper, librarian of the Brookline Public Library, has given every possible help in making available the extensive materials in her care, and in verifying scores of details. The members of the Brookline Historical Society's committee have aided materially by their willingness to make meticulous comment upon the text and point the way to clarifying many of its statements. Mr. Walter B. Briggs, assistant librarian of the Harvard College Library, has given his usual enthusiastic co-operation. Encouragement in a variety of ways has come from others, among the incomplete list of whom must be mentioned Mrs. Nanna Matthews Bryant, of Boston, and Dr. Francis P. Denny, chairman of the committee supervising this project. Almost needless to say, I have felt throughout the friendly guidance and scholarly inspiration of my mentor, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart.

JOHN GOULD CURTIS

Green Pastures

Spring Creek

Pennsylvania

September 17, 1932

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EDWARD WILD BAKER

IT WAS a happy thought to publish this book as a memorial to Edward Wild Baker, who died in Brookline on January 26, 1928. Such action was natural and appropriate, for the discovery and preservation of the material from which its contents were derived were due largely to him. With industry, patience, and skill, he found and accumulated the records — printed and pictorial — which have made it possible to present a history of the town in interesting form and accurate statement. The volume is a worthy testimonial by those who are producing it to a brilliant and conscientious fellow townsman.

Mr. Baker had a varied life, but it was essentially connected with the town of Brookline in all its vital contacts. A graduate of Harvard in 1882, he began his career in a railroad office and later he had experience in a manufacturing company; he was for a while private secretary to a Congressman in Washington. Then he became town clerk of Brookline in 1898, which position he held until his death. His father had been town clerk before him; their combined terms of service extended over seventy-six years. Mr. Baker's work as clerk of the town was always of first importance, and he devoted his life to the faithful performance of his duties. His records were clear and accurate, his knowledge of municipal affairs was extensive, and his assistance was sought and freely given to all who needed his advice. His associates in the Town Hall will always recall his genial manner, his courtesies, and the twinkle in his eye as he recounted some amusing incident. He was small of stature, lacking perhaps a normal height of which he may have been a little sensitive, but he was always dignified and his official companions respected him and knew him as 'Mr. Baker the Town Clerk.' To his intimates he was 'Eddie Baker,' and it is thus perhaps that he was popularly known.

His public life began as the secretary of a congressman in Washington, and while he never held political office he was closely connected with people in party politics. In fact he was a member of several political committees, clubs and organizations and

took an active interest in their work. He was a shrewd thinker and quick-witted, and when he wished to bring about a certain result, the grass did not grow under his feet. His opponents often found out to their discomfort that 'Eddie' came out ahead. This was not to his discredit, for he was generally right in his opinions, and he never allowed any propaganda or false notions to influence his actions — he knew, however, how to play the game.

The office of town clerk gave Mr. Baker a great field in which to display his talents for historical research. Old papers and letters were literally unearthed from the vaults, references in old manuscripts were pursued to their origin, early laws were studied, state archives were investigated, and the official records of the town clerk's office were read and re-read for light on some obscure period. The result of all this endeavor was a complete and accurate knowledge of the events early and late which make up the history of our town. Furthermore, what was most important, all this knowledge was put into concrete form and his notes and written material are now a part of our historical possessions.

All who read this volume will recall the many pleasant occasions when Mr. Baker gave his lectures on Brookline, illustrated by slides made from old pictures — a fascinating experience to those who were brought up in the town. One always receives a thrill when shown a picture of a scene of some happening in earlier days, now almost forgotten. The picture of a coast where one played as a boy or girl — now covered by an apartment building — or of Beacon Street before it was widened. As one reads, one will recall these occasions when Mr. Baker himself presented the results of his labors, and to many others the reading will be new and of absorbing interest.

Mr. Baker married Alice Gertrude Souther, November 12, 1888, with whom he had a long and happy life. Their two children dying young, they found their own love and companionship deepened in their association with each other. Mrs. Baker was truly his helpmeet, and to her is due much in the result of her husband's research and in the preservation of his manuscripts for the use of the town.

May I add a personal word of affection for Mr. Baker, as I

always called him. A long daily intercourse with him in the official life of the Town Hall endeared him to me, and served to show me his high character and ability. We worked together in harmony. In consultation he was always congenial; helpful in suggestion, willing in assistance — our relationship was ideal. He was a firm believer in the citizens' caucus, recently abolished. If he were here, I wonder if it would have been, for his judgment would have been followed by many people who respected his acumen and opinion in such matters.

If this picture of Mr. Baker is incomplete, supplement it by thinking of him as a true, able, and faithful public servant, never pursuing his own advantage, but devoting himself to the welfare of the town.

PHILIP S. PARKER

BROOKLINE, *February*, 1933

HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF BROOKLINE



CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS AT MUDDY RIVER

THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

BY THE summer of 1630 Boston's cows were getting into the corn in really troublesome fashion. As an agricultural settlement, the town was already beginning to overflow its natural limits, for a measure of trade had sprung up, population had increased, and the available land around the dwellings was needed for garden plots. The first phase of the evolution of the frontier was already manifest, and some, at least, of the town's cattle were of necessity to be pastured elsewhere than on Boston Neck.

It was this pressure, primarily, that resulted in the first settlement of Muddy River. With many pioneer communities it is possible to point out particular inducements to settlement. Thus it is easy to see why certain sections of the seacoast might be attractive to men who wished to engage in fishing or to others who found the splendid timber an inducement to engage in shipbuilding. There is no mystery at all about the lure of gold, and scarcely more in the attraction which lush meadows have for men who have wrested a difficult livelihood from exhausted and unwilling fields.

But at Muddy River there appear to have been no remarkable advantages. Here lay a rolling landscape of some picturesqueness and no exceptional resources, dominated by the characteristic glacial topography of New England.

Even the wisest of geologists are not in entire agreement as to how long ago it was when the great Canadian ice sheets swept down over New England carrying sand and gravel and clay,

and immense boulders in their mass. It is well established, however, that there was more than one of these ice sheets, and that the last disappeared perhaps twenty-five thousand years ago. Its movement had had the effect of reworking the material which had been dropped upon the land surface when the preceding ice sheets melted; and this mingled debris was some of it heaped up in irregular masses, while some of it was dropped in stream courses, and resulted in damming the flow of water and in the development of marshy lands.

This, in general outline, was the history of the evolution of the landscape at Muddy River. The hills which mark that site are unmistakably of glacial origin, and the very name of Muddy River suggests a stream flowing over a soil surface from which soft clays are easily derived. The marsh land which originally characterized the area is typical of sections in which the normal drainage has been impaired by the deposition of glacial materials.

BOSTON'S COW PASTURE

Many a pioneer community gets off to a bad start for no better reason than that settlers on a wild frontier are obliged to settle with a minimum of delay. Those English families who came to Massachusetts early in the seventeenth century were under the immediate necessity of establishing homes, and assuring themselves crops of some sort. They must put themselves at once on a self-sufficient domestic basis.

The Pilgrims' first landing at the tip of Cape Cod revealed a country so discouraging that they did not attempt to remain there, but moved on to the less forbidding, though far from ideal country around Plymouth. Those who sought to win a livelihood from the barren promontory of Cape Ann were hardly more fortunate.

Between these inhospitable lands, however, lay the fertile, undulating country that was to serve as a meeting ground for disappointed colonists from both north and south. Most of the early settlements were located along the shore of Massachusetts Bay — 'safe, spacious and deepe, free from such cockling Seas as runne the Coast of Ireland, and in the Channels of England,' according to William Wood, who wrote *New England's Prospect*.

Into the heart of the harbor at the innermost part of the bay jutted the peninsula of Boston, hemmed on the south by the bay of Roxbury, on the north by the Charles River, and inland by narrow marshes extending across a slender 'neck' hardly an eighth of a mile wide, which led to the mainland 'so that a little fencing will secure their cattle from the wolves.' Surrounding it was the 'Countrie of the *Massachusetts*' described by John Smith as 'the Paradise of all those parts.' Rocky it was, and even mountainous in spots, profusely wooded, with valleys in which flowed clear streams filling lovely lakes 'ten, twenty even sixty miles in compass.'

Within this area lay Muddy River, Boston's first suburb to the southwest, partaking of the general characteristics of the country and breaking into the records of the day on occasions perhaps of little historical importance, but often of marked local interest. Winthrop refers to the drowning of two men and two boys on a trip to Noddle's Island, and adds, 'Three days after the boat was found at Muddy River, overturned.' A few years later a great light in the night that flamed and faded into the figure of a hog and flew with appalling rapidity over the marshes to the south of the peninsula aroused wide comment, and in descriptions of the phenomenon the area is again mentioned.

John Josselyn, a cultured and observant visitor, came to America in the late thirties and after the lapse of a quarter century made a more extended visit, his account of which includes one of the very few early descriptions of the region. 'Two miles from the town,' he writes, 'at a place called Muddy River, the Inhabitants have Farms, to which belong rich arable grounds, and meadows where they keep their Cattle in the Summer, and bring them to Boston in the Winter; the Harbour before the Town is filled with Ships and other Vessels for most part of the year.'

Thus the initial significance of Muddy River was simply as Boston's back cow pasture. When the land available for the pasturage of Boston cattle proved inadequate, prominent citizens sought additional allotments in the most convenient available place. This happened to be Muddy River. That they established homes there, and within the space of a comparatively few years had developed a measure of community con-

sciousness, were due far more to the circumstances of colonial life in New England than to any special advantages of the region. How those forces operated from the initial chartering of the Company in New England is deserving of brief inquiry.

THE GREAT COLONIAL SCHEME

During the early years of the seventeenth century, when no one had more than the vaguest notion of the extent of continental North America, it was possible for royalty to indulge a fairly lavish sense of generosity without actually giving away anything very tangible. The controlling idea, of course, was that the individuals who formed the private corporations that were in turn the beneficiaries of this generosity, would in various ways advance the interests of the realm. There was always a great deal of talk about the necessity of Christianizing the savages, which usually amounted to the provision of a plausible excuse for taking anything away that the savages had that the worthy Christianizers wanted. There is a quaint conceit in evidence of this in the seal of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, which represents a highly improbable Indian exclaiming, 'Come over and help us.'

James I it was, then, who authorized forty persons of distinction to form 'the Council established at Plymouth in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America.' Thirteen of the grantees were members of the English peerage, and their influence appears to have dominated the Council at the outset, with the result that a highly feudal system of administration was originally contemplated. The extremely fanciful plans, however, led to little in the way of practical results, beyond the assignment of various grants of land to certain groups of adventurers.

One of these grants was made to six gentlemen living in the vicinity of Dorchester, England, who enlisted the interest of still other persons, and obtained from Charles I a charter confirming their patent, granting them certain powers and declaring them the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England. Their grant extended from three miles north of the Merrimac River to three miles south of the Charles, and was said to stretch westward to the Pacific Ocean. Immediate

steps were taken to put emigrants in active possession of at least the eastern shore of this promising property.

SETTLERS IN THE NEW WORLD

Some fifty or sixty persons came over first with John Endicott as their governor, and settled at Naumkeag, now Salem. The Company in England evidently felt some concern lest parts of its grant should come under unwelcome influences, and urged Endicott to see that some practical steps were taken to obtain a foothold on Massachusetts Bay. Following these instructions, the people of Naumkeag established a permanent settlement at Mishawum, which came to be known as Charlestown, because of its location on the Charles River.

The new communities flourished and within a few months there were perhaps two hundred settlers at Salem, and over half as many at Charlestown. This was promising, but the prosperity of the settlements received a really substantial impetus when the governing body of the Company decided (without any definite legal authority for the move) to shift its center of activities to the New World.

Being governed by absentee officials was very different from having the responsible authorities present on the ground and subject to local influences. This, perhaps, more than anything else, was responsible for the achievement of a success by Massachusetts Bay which was never enjoyed by the somewhat abortive colonial enterprises of those men who preferred to remain promoters in England, while they sought to deal with properties and conditions of which they knew nothing. Thus, before the end of the summer of 1629, some seventeen shiploads of emigrants had arrived in Massachusetts.

OFFSHOOT COMMUNITIES

Most of these landed first at Salem, but did not remain there long. For one thing, the place was thought unsuited as a 'capital town.' Another factor which must be considered in viewing the expansion of the frontier was the domestic and social economy of the village communities of that time.

They were, first of all, self-sufficient communities. With the exception of a very few luxuries, the colonists were accustomed

to providing all of their own needs. They built their homes, grew their food or gathered it in the wild state, and prepared their own clothing. This meant that their settlements must be in a large measure agricultural, and of course it is impossible to have a successful agricultural community without adequate tillable land and pasture.

On that account it was no unusual thing for the settlers of a new town to agree that the families to be allotted grants should not exceed a certain number. Within limitations it was possible to have a group of house lots in a fairly compact area with lots for tillage and pasture not too far away. If the settlement exceeded a reasonable size, outlying lots would be too far away for convenience, and perhaps also too far for safety in the event of hostile Indian attacks.

This state of affairs explains in some measure then, why it was that the influx of immigration in 1629 did not result in the immediate establishment of a large commercial or industrial community, but in the setting up rather of a group of smaller settlements.

The site of one of the most important of these was selected on the recommendation of William Blaxton, who was living at the time alone in a little cottage on the south side of the Charles River, at the foot of Beacon Hill. At this place, which the Indians called Shawmut, Blaxton told Winthrop there was an excellent spring and this good water, coupled with the easy defensibility of the peninsula, induced a large part of the company to settle there.

The community first covered merely the narrow peninsula known as 'the Neck.' The settlement extended from Winnisimmet Ferryways, which marked the water route to the present Chelsea, to Roxbury, the only contiguous settlement — a distance of about three miles. The area, however, was soon found insufficient for the requirements of citizens and 'enlargements' were sought from the General Court. Grants were consequently had at Noddle's Island, now East Boston, Mount Wollaston, now Braintree, Pullen Point and Rumney Marsh, now parts of Chelsea; but no grant seems to have been thought necessary for that useful tract of marsh, meadow, and woodland lying to the southwest of the peninsula, and known as Muddy River.



AMORY ESTATE ON POWELL STREET, LOOKING TOWARD BEACON STREET

On this place until 1845 could be seen the ruins of an Indian fort

FIRST MENTIONS OF MUDDY RIVER

Thus, by simple appropriation, the colonial frontier was extended to include the region of Muddy River. There is no record to indicate who first explored that area or who first settled there. Samuel Maverick's account of early Boston, which he wrote in his capacity as an 'old settler' in 1660, makes no mention of Muddy River. So far as appears, the first dwelling in the vicinity was that occupied in 1630 by Griffin Craft, the first known white settler in Roxbury, who lived close to the point where the first bridge was later built over Muddy River. Some construction must shortly have taken place, for the grant of land to William Colborne in 1635 describes the land as being 'near unto and about his house which he hath built.'

There were plenty of signs of Indian settlement at Muddy River, notably on what became the Ackers farm. Recognizing a prior Indian claim, perhaps not very valuable because the Indian population was small and actually used only a little fraction of the land, the colonists arranged a treaty with Chief Chicatabut of the Massachusetts tribe, numbering about three thousand, for land at and around Boston. This was confirmed half a century later by Chicatabut's grandson, Chief Josias Wampatuck. Probably this fair treatment taken with the influence of the missionary John Eliot, accounted for the freedom of Boston and nearby areas from Indian troubles.

According to an entry of August 30, 1632, in John Winthrop's *Journal*, a considerable body of Indians had assembled at Muddy River and 'the governor sent Capt. Underhill with twenty musketeers to discover, etc.' It is logical that if there had been any outlying settlers at that time, there would have been some mention of the need for their protection. However, whether there was formal settlement or not, there was evidently a certain amount of travel in the direction of Muddy River, because an order of the General Court in the summer of 1633 provided for the appointment of a committee to arrange the construction of a cartbridge over the river. It may have been that the committee found other more pressing things to do, or it may have been that the demand for the bridge was not very urgent. At any rate, it was not built until some six years later.

During this time, however, the lands around Muddy River

were obviously regarded as valuable by the settlers on the peninsula. From the hillsides timber and wood supplies were to be had, and during the summer months when the land on the Neck was under cultivation, the marsh land and meadow provided very necessary cattle pastures. In fact, this section was the most accessible auxiliary pasture and source of wood; and its everyday importance was recognized by the Boston town meeting when in the fall of 1634 it voted the first funds for administrative services in the growing suburb — ‘a rate for the young cattle and cows keeper at Muddy River.’

THE SUBURB NEARLY LOST

Apparently the useful Muddy River area was still regarded not as a settlement but as a convenient outlying territory in 1634. When the Reverend Thomas Hooker and his followers were removed from Mount Wollaston to Newtowne under an order of the General Court it appeared that the new location afforded them insufficient room. Their petitions for more land brought relief, but inadequate relief, and in 1634 Hooker's congregation was seeking permission to remove to Connecticut, listing first among their grievances, ‘Their want of accommodation for their cattle.’

The General Court was not in favor of the removal of settlers to another colony and strong representations were therefore made to Boston and Watertown that it would be a gracious and proper thing for them to surrender certain tracts of their own land which were not at the time occupied. Boston acceded to this request, and assigned for the purpose land which included practically all of the Muddy River area. This was done, however, with the understanding that if Hooker and his congregation did not remain, the land should revert to the grantor community. When at last, therefore, the restless minister and his followers went off to found Hartford, Connecticut, in the early summer of 1636, Muddy River brought to an end its connection of nearly two years with Newtowne, and became once more a part of Boston.

Something in the way of settlement must have gone on during this brief period, for William Wood in *New England's Prospect*, mentioned the place as ‘one of the towns begun when I came for

England,' and Wood had sailed back to the old country on August 15, 1633, only twelve months after Winthrop's mention of the Indian menace. Furthermore, in the spring of 1634, there was new agitation for the cartbridge over Muddy River, and it was ordered to be built 'before the nexte Generall Court.' The need for the bridge was probably to make accessible more distant pasture lands, since a regulation of the town of Boston now compelled removal of cattle and swine from the Neck. By this time, too, it may have been necessary to go farther afield for firewood and building timber, and perhaps the demand was already being felt for communication with the region beyond the boundaries of Muddy River.

FIRST PRINCIPAL PROPRIETORS

Certain it is that citizens of Boston were beginning to feel the desire to reduce to their personal possession parts of the marsh land and meadow of what is now known as Brookline. That several of the principal men among the earliest grantees did not themselves take up residence in the new community is scarcely to be viewed as an indication of its unimportance. They were, after all, Boston men with a perfectly natural disposition to maintain their homes in the parent community, and an equally natural inclination to take to themselves whatever of value might be had for the asking. Since they promptly moved to get as much acreage at Muddy River as they could, it is reasonable to suppose that the property was regarded as really worth while.

According to the Boston town records the first land grants by the town of Boston were under the supervision of a local committee of five members comprising 'William Coleborne, William Aspynwall, John Sampford, William Balstone, and Richard Wright.' Although they were appointed primarily to lay out certain farms in the vicinity of Mount Wollaston, they were also instructed to set aside an adequate allotment at Muddy River to provide a farm for 'our Teacher, Mr. John Cotton.' The same town meeting agreed that it would be all right for William Colborne to have his portion laid out for him by the other four members of the committee, and that Thomas Oliver and Thomas Leveritt might also be promised lands within the area.

Thus grants had been issued to four important citizens when an order was promulgated providing that the poorer inhabitants — ‘such as are members [*i.e.*, of the church] or likely to be, and have noe cattell’ — should likewise be allotted their portion of land at Muddy River. This provision, passed in the fall of 1635, seems to have halted the making of further grants until some general program could be worked out. No further assignments are recorded for several months, but a general permission was given the so-called poorer inhabitants to utilize for a period of three years any unplanted portion of the land at Muddy River, with the understanding that they would not cut wood or timber, and would leave by way of compensation whatever fencing they found it necessary to erect.

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND

But the spring meeting of the town of Boston in March, 1636, resulted in a change in the manner of allotting lands. Responsibility was taken from the special committee previously appointed, and entrusted to the selectmen as a body. Their only immediate act affecting the situation at Muddy River was to define the lands which had been promised to John Cotton. But in December of the same year the selectmen promised ‘great allotments’ to six citizens of no special prominence; and by February of 1637 Captain John Underhill had been assured of eighty acres of upland and twenty of marsh, Isaac Grosse and Thomas Alcock each a ‘great allotment,’ and Thomas Savage seven acres of marsh. Finally, in June, Thomas Flint was told that he might have twenty-four acres at the mouth of Muddy River.

If, to modern readers, some of these ‘great allotments’ seem of surprisingly small extent, perhaps it ought to be explained that they were ‘great’ only by contrast to house lots. They represented, generally, farming acreage rather than mere dwelling sites.

The sixteen grants or promises of grants thus far described are all preliminary to the wholesale distribution of great allotments on June 8, 1638. Even so small a number provide, however, a kind of introduction to the understanding of motives, methods and personnel in one of the earliest pioneer movements

I.

Thomas Whe
Apr. 16, 163

Theodore Atkinson, Au

Isaac Perry; 10 a. Feb

Ralph^l Mason
Feb. 19, 163

William Hud
Apr. 2, 163

Jane Parker - 4
(Book of Poss



4000

1636.

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CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE

Before
1636

William Hibbins
300 acres
Sept. 28, 1640

William Tyng
600 acres
Oct. 31, 1640

Peter Oliver
60 acres
Sept. 28, 1640

James Oliver
40 acres
Sept. 28, 1640

Griffith Bowen
150 acres
Mar. 1, 1639

David Offley
75 acres
Sept. 30, 1639

John Leverett
July 29, 1639

Edward Fletcher
15 acres
Sept. 28, 1640

Robert Wing
Feb. 24, 1640

Leonard Butties
Feb. 24, 1640

William Blanton
Feb. 24, 1640

Thomas Painter
20 acres
Nov. 27, 1639

?
Bowen

Thomas Wheeler
Apr. 16, 1638

Theodore Atkinson, Aug. 31, 1640

Isaac Perry, 10 a. Feb. 12, 1638

Ralph Mason 30 a.
Feb. 19, 1638

William Hudson
Apr. 2, 1638

Jane Parker - 40 acres
(Book of Possessions)

Robert Hull
Dec. 10, 1636

Edward Belcher
Dec. 10, 1636

Thomas Alcock
Feb. 7, 1637

Isaac Grosse
50 acres
1638

Thomas Snow
10 acres
1638

William Talmage
15 acres
1638

Capt. John Underhill
80 acres
Sold Jan. 8, 1638
Granted Jan. 9, 1636

John Arrott
10 acres
1638

William Denning
10 acres
1638

Robert Turner
Jan. 8, 1638
and May 31, 1641

Henry Burchall
1638

Alexander I Winchester
1638

William Courser
1638

Robert Tytus
1638

William Blackstone
1638

Thomas Wordall
1638

Edward Bendall
1638

Robert Meers
Jan. 8, 1638

Robert Reynolds
1638

George Bates
1638

John Cranwell - 1638

William Pell
1638

James Davis
1638

Robert Walker
1638

John Mylam
1638

Richard Fairbank
1638

Henry Elkyn
1638

Francis Bushnell
1638

Wm. Townsend - 1638

Wm. Wilson
1638

Wm. Salter
1638

Eliz. Purton
1638

Richard Bulgar
1638

Thomas Oliver
Jan. 1, 1640

Richard Tappin
1638

See Muddy River
Records
Vol. 1, p. 18,
for

William Dignely
1638

James and Richard Fitch
1638

George Griggs
1638

John Pemberton
1638

Anthony Warner
1638

Matthew Ines
1638

Robert Read
1638

Alex. Beck
1638

Thomasine Scottow
1638

William Beameley
1638

John Biggs
1638

Garrett Bourne
1638

Robert Houlton
1638

Benjamin Ward
1638

John Cronny
1638

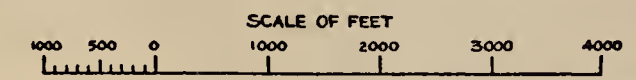
Thomas Oliver
Jan 8, 1638 and
Mar 29, 1641

Thomas Leverett
Jan. 8, 1638 and
Mar. 29, 1641

Rev. John Cotton
250 acres
Jan 8, 1638

William Coleborne
150 acres
Jan. 8, 1638

MUDDY RIVER
ALLOTMENTS BY THE TOWN OF BOSTON
1636 - 1641
THEODORE F. JONES, DEL.
NEW YORK - 1920
BROOKLINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1923



in American life. These were the first people to concern themselves with actual participation in the affairs of Muddy River.

There is significance, too, in the ultimate decision of the townspeople of Boston as to the manner in which this common property of theirs should be distributed. The original special committee on allotments had been done away with, and the possibility of dealing with the matter in the town meeting, as was the case in some communities, had not been accepted. The sense of the town dictated that the selectmen, comprising the chief ecclesiastical and political officers of the community, were best fitted to parcel out the land to persons who were deserving, and whose employment of their grants would redound to the benefit of the group as a whole.

The selectmen had virtually a free hand, at least so far as the selection of the lands was concerned. True, they were instructed to set aside certain pastures for the possible use of newcomers, and the townsmen of Boston had thought that prospective land owners should be in line for membership in the church. It had also been suggested that an average of five acres per head of cattle owned was a reasonable basis for the granting of pasturage; and for simplicity in the laying out of the allotments, they were to begin 'next Muddy Ryver side.'

Important as evidence of the weight which frontier society attached to having the right sort of neighbors, was the provision that grantees were not to be free to sell houses or allotments without permission from the allotting authorities. And the necessity of getting these properties put promptly to use was indicated by the requirement that those who received lands should build upon them before the first of March, 1637.¹

EMINENT FOUNDERS

Six of the really distinguished citizens of Boston were among the earliest grantees of property at Muddy River, and it may be assumed that their names and influence lent a measure of prestige to the young community and helped to get it under way.

John Cotton ranked, perhaps after Winthrop, as the most

¹ New style dates are used throughout this volume, even in citing records kept with dual year dates.

loved and trusted member of the colony. This is attested by the promptness with which, after his arrival, he was made 'Teacher' of the First Church in Boston, where he exercised an undisputed authority of the kind which only wisdom and character of the first rank can command. He was, in a sense unhappily, never a resident of Muddy River.

William Colborne's grant of one hundred and fifty acres marks a man of standing, too, a deacon and later an elder in the church, selectman of Boston and representative to the General Court. He already owned property in the south part of Boston, where 'Coleborns field' extended from shore to shore across the Neck, not very far distant from his new acquisitions in the suburb.

Thomas Oliver and Thomas Leveritt were both elders in the church, the former a surgeon who had arrived in the *William and Francis* on June 5, 1632, and although no longer a young man, had taken a vigorous part in the affairs of the colony. When he died at ninety he was, by repute, 'a lively pattern of old age.' Leveritt had been an alderman of the borough of Boston in England, who surrendered his rôle as a 'Lincolnshire gentleman of character and substance' to follow his great friend and former pastor, John Cotton, to the New World. His public trusts were numerous, including service on the first body of officers for governing the town of Boston, membership on the first board of selectmen and on the first 'warrant committee.' He was the father of the distinguished Captain John Leveritt, also an original grantee at Muddy River.

Thomas Savage had come at the age of twenty-seven, on completion of his apprenticeship as a tailor in London, to Boston where he landed from the *Planter* in April, 1635. In military service he rose to the grades of sergeant, ensign, lieutenant, and captain, achieving distinction as a commander in King Philip's War; the while he accumulated property in Boston, on Hog Island, and at Muddy River, and made himself known as one of the 'richer inhabitants.' He held also a variety of public offices, including those of selectman, deputy, speaker, assistant and special officer on many occasions; and the public records afford frequent recognition of his services. He was involved in the Wheelwright troubles, disarmed, and driven to Connecti-

cut, where he remained only a little time, returning to Boston to push on his career.

Captain John Underhill had come originally in his capacity as a military man, with the Winthrop colonists. He was one of the first deputies from Boston to the General Court, among the earliest officers of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, and the first man definitely recorded as visiting Muddy River, when he went out in command of the party described by Winthrop as sent to disperse the 'ten sagamores and many Indians' who had assembled threateningly there. He returned in triumph from the Pequot War in 1637, only to suffer disarmament and the loss of his commission on account of antinomian heresy. Driven to New Hampshire, he soon removed to the Dutch colony on Long Island.

OTHER ORIGINAL GRANTEES

The remaining ten of the first sixteen to receive lands at Muddy River were less prominent men whose names completed a group representative of the widest variety of economic worth and social standing. Of the whole sixteen, seven are listed as among the 'richest inhabitants.' Ten were owners of property in Boston, and eleven belonged to the First Church prior to 1641. An equal number enjoyed the freedom of the colony before that year.

These grantees included the highest officials of church and town, as well as two servants, two tailors, two inn keepers, a surgeon, a blacksmith, and a barber. The assembly was democratic enough in its entirety, but of course there was a careful maintenance of distinctions.

Thus the 'great men' received priority in time, extent, and choice of the location of their grants. In fact, if the grants of marsh lands be excluded, four fifths of the acreage granted went to these five men: Cotton, Colborne, Oliver, Leveritt, and Underhill. John Cotton's extensive uplands amounted to a third more than the total of the ten lesser grants.

Moreover, these principal grantees were absentee landlords, who, so far as appears, never lived at Muddy River, though the heirs of some of them played important parts in the community in later years. Of the lesser citizens, too, several probably never occupied the lands granted them.

EXTENT AND ARRANGEMENT OF GRANTS

From the map of allotments at Muddy River by the town of Boston,¹ found at the end of this book, it is apparent that the grants ranged from John Cotton's two hundred and fifty acres of rich, upland meadow, to the little five- and ten-acre patches of tide-flooded marshland along the shore of the stream. All were nevertheless designated 'great lots' as distinct from 'house lots.'

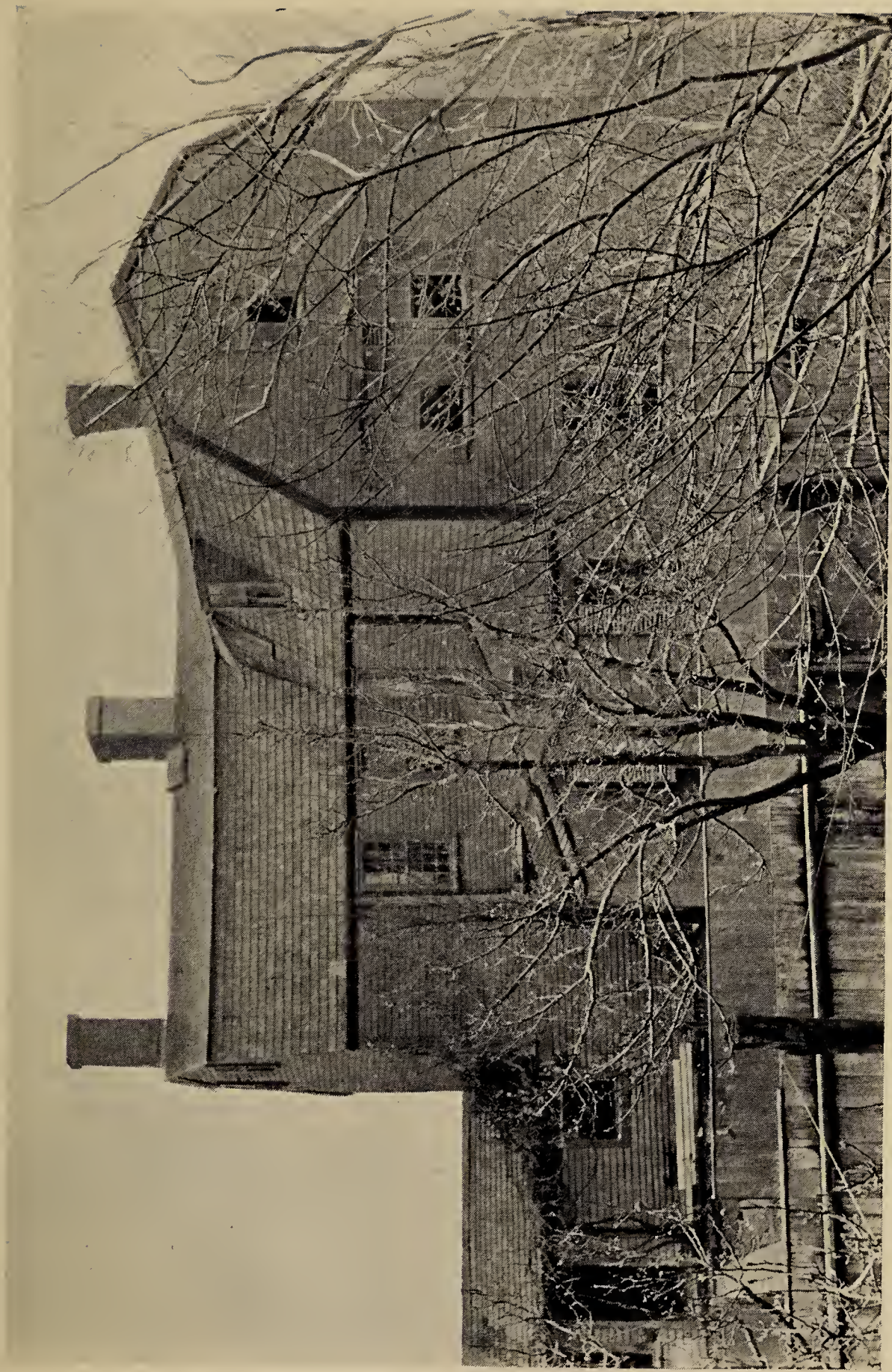
The two types of acreage — marshland and upland — had each certain advantages. The latter was suited to cultivation as well as to grazing, while the former, being within reach of the tides, remained sufficiently open during the cold months to provide 'winter pasturage.' Such tidal marshes were used in this way in most of the towns that were appropriately located, and minimized partly the necessity for mowing hay.

Awarding land was a preliminary step to its ultimate transfer, and only two grants were actually completed before the considerable group of 'great allotments' of January 8, 1638. These were the properties of John Cotton and William Colborne; for Thomas Savage's grant, though completed, was not regarded as a regular allotment because it consisted solely of marsh land.

Cotton's land was described as bounded on the north and south by fresh brooks and extending west to the 'cutting over beyond the hill northwest,' the whole containing two hundred and fifty acres. In a general way this included the land bounded on the northeast by the present Washington and Harvard Streets, and on the southwest by the Boston and Albany right-of-way (the railroad tracks, as it happens, closely paralleling the village brook). The area extended at least as far west as Gardner Road, making it roughly triangular in shape, with its apex lying close to the present Village Square.

There is no evidence that the distinguished minister used his grant for anything but a cattle pasture. His great-grandson, however, on inheriting the property, built a house in 1670 on the east side of what is now Harvard Street between Andem

¹ One of a series of maps of "Land Ownership in Brookline," prepared by Theodore F. Jones, Ph.D., and published by the Brookline Historical Society with its *Proceedings*, 1923.



HOUSE IN ANDEM PLACE BUILT BY DEACON THOMAS COTTON, GREAT-GRANDSON OF
REV. JOHN COTTON

and Harrison Places. Known as Andem House, this dwelling was inhabited by many generations of eminent citizens, and remained a landmark until its demolition in 1879.

Close by Cotton's land were the grants of William Colborne, Thomas Leveritt, and Thomas Oliver, each of these also roughly triangular in shape and with its eastern apex near the present Village Square. The importance of this feature was in making the properties accessible to the Neck, for there the only road from the peninsula (now Huntington Avenue) crossed Muddy River to what were perhaps the most fertile and arable lands of the countryside.

Colborne's hundred and fifty acres lay north of Cotton's, bounded on the south by the same fresh brook (approximately the modern Washington Street), on the east by Muddy River, on the north in a general way by the lines of the present Longwood and Summit Avenues, and extended to the west somewhere in the vicinity of Gardner Road. Leveritt's award of one hundred and seventy-five acres lay between the Boston and Albany right-of-way and Walnut Street, and Oliver's equivalent area was east of Walnut Street, while Warren Street served as the probable southern boundary of both grants.

Although the remaining grants which had been promised were not recorded, with the exception of Savage's marsh land, until the time of the 'great allotments' of January 8, 1638, it seems that these applicants nevertheless received special consideration. Instead of having to take land backed by the Cedar Swamp, and fronting the Charles and Muddy River bottoms where the great allotments formally began, these fortunate men shared a strip of land some eighty rods wide, completely spanning the center of the Muddy River area from Roxbury to the Cambridge line. Here were laid out, in ascending order, the farms of Deming (with its eastern border at the Roxbury line), Arratt, Underhill, Talmage, Snow, Grosse, Alcock, Belcher, Hull, and Wheeler. The last two had western boundaries coinciding with the Cambridge line.

CHAPTER II

LAND FOR THEIR HOMES

COLONIAL POPULATION

THE distribution of the arable acres of Muddy River seems to have started with a generous appropriation by the influential insiders, and to have continued with a sort of free-for-all in which unto those who asked, land was given, though few settled on their grants, and the community became really established only after the land had come by transfer into the hands of men who were ready to establish homes. This attitude toward the acquisition of frontier lands was not abnormal. First of all the chance of large profit inherent in the receipt of free lands from the government was one of the great inducements to colonization. In view of the fact that a great deal of land — some of it presumably very valuable — was to be had for the asking, it was hardly to be expected that the grantees would be ready at once to make their permanent homes on such plots as they might receive. Some better opportunity was too likely to turn up.

The frontier population was a highly mobile one, in which were a large number of adventurers. In fact, an adventurous character was almost a prerequisite to colonial enterprise, and such men were not only reluctant to settle before they felt certain that they had reached some satisfactory goal, but were also very likely to observe what seemed to be greener pastures in the distance as soon as they had reconciled themselves to settlement.

Thus there are a large number of names associated with the early years of Muddy River which did not long retain significance in connection with the community. Many of the grantees never occupied the lands which were given them there, and others were quick to dispose of their allotments. Some, of course, did not live long in the new country, while others, because of religious differences or a supposed opportunity to better their circumstances, moved to Connecticut or to remoter parts of the new frontier.

A detailed discussion of the original grantees would, therefore, impede this story of Muddy River without contributing materially to its worth. At the end of the book will be found a map covering the original grants, but the names of the land-owners will appear in the story only so far as those individuals actually participated in the history of the town.

POLICY IN LAND GRANTS

The grants thus far described were only a preliminary to the distribution of land on a more extensive scale. Muddy River, like Mount Wollaston (Quincy) and Rumney Marsh (Chelsea), was included in a comprehensive plan of allotments, intended to provide all deserving citizens of Boston with adequate acreage for their home establishments.

But the mere physical task of surveying the region with enough exactness to permit definite assignments, involved a long delay. It was not until January 8, 1638, that the desultory grants and promises of previous months were confirmed or defined; and at that time also, forty-eight new allotments were made. The effect was to nominate, all at once, nearly half of the 'first citizens' of Muddy River, and to assign to them more than half of the soil in what were known as the 'great allotments.'

From the beginning it was apparent that this was to be a community of substantial people, and of homes. The allotments were specified to be for 'planting ground,' which would naturally imply actual residence. Provision was primarily to be made for 'such as are members or likely to be and have noe cattell,' which meant that the neighbors in the new settlement were at least qualified for church membership. But there is something inconsistent in emphasizing the lack of cattle, and then providing that the allotments falling between the 'foote hill and the Water' should be made on the basis of four acres for each head of cattle, and those that were more distant, five acres.

Not until the meeting of March 14, 1637, was a definite move made to lay out the allotments. The task was then committed to the selectmen, who in turn appointed a committee to do the actual work. This group functioned until the selectmen, on January 8, 1638, referred to the order of December 14, 1635, which had first dealt with the lands at Muddy River, and cited

it as authority for a long list of allotments 'unto the then inhabitants' — a phrase which seems to mark as a privileged class in this respect, those who were inhabitants of Boston on December 14, 1635.

Although these grants are all recorded on the same day, it is probable that the record was simply the concluding formality of a process that had been going on for some time. The last six allotments of this group had been pledged some time earlier, and applications were doubtless still being made during the process of surveying.

Following the order of the town meeting, the 'great allotments' began close by Muddy River, as near to the Neck as William Colborne's grant would permit. The total of these, together with the initial grants at Muddy River, amounts to about 1450 acres. This marks the extent of the appropriations exclusive of marsh lands, on and before January 8, 1638. The area includes the breadth of Brookline from Commonwealth Avenue on the north to the vicinity of Chestnut Hill Avenue and Cottage Street on the south.

BASIS OF GRANTS

Individuals of special prominence had profited generously from the first grants; the great allotments represented a different and far broader land policy. Merchants, yeomen, tradesmen and laborers comprised the new grantees, and while some of them appear to have enjoyed a measure of wealth and prominence, it seems to have been expected that these people would settle on their new lands.

The business of assigning lots was managed with the greatest fairness, and the most careful consideration of the grantees' needs and prospects. Thus, a misshapen boundary, an unfavorable terrain, proximity to the marshes, a large family, or remoteness from the Neck, seem all to have been weighed in allotting increased acreage according to individual requirements.

There were ten members on the committee that superintended the great allotments, including Thomas Leveritt, William Aspinwall, William Hutchinson, William Colborne, and John Coggeshall. All of these were prominent citizens whose interest in the Muddy River area, if they had any, had

already been satisfied, so that they had no inducement to do anything but a thoroughly honest job. There is no doubt, therefore, that they followed scrupulously the instructions of the town meeting and observed entire equality of treatment.

Under the order of December 14, 1635, special consideration had been promised to the poorer inhabitants and those who either belonged to the church or would probably do so. The close association of church membership with standing in the community meant that church members were probably prominent residents of the community as well as godly citizens. The records of the First Church show that of the forty-eight names listed, not less than thirty-four were church members before 1631, and the other fourteen may be largely accounted for either by their early death or removal from the village. Forty of the grantees had been admitted freemen, which means that not only were they church members, but were entitled to participate in charter elections, hold colonial offices, aid in making the more important local regulations (particularly those respecting the admission of new inhabitants, and the 'layeing out of lotts'), and choose from their own number the men to order 'the prudentiall occasions of that Towne.'

To be accepted as a freeman represented not only harmony with the community conscience and full acceptance into community life, but carried with it the colonial marks of public confidence. As Thomas Lechford put it in his *Plain Dealing*, 'None may now be a *Freeman* of that Commonwealth... unlesse he be a Church member amongst them. None have voice in elections of Governours, Deputy, and Assistants; none are to be Magistrates, Officers, or Jurymen, grand or petite, but *Freemen*.'

CHARACTER OF LANDHOLDERS

That the grantees at Muddy River were men of some standing is shown by the frequent occurrence of their names as holders of public offices. It does not require any distinguished ability to qualify as a fence viewer, cowkeeper or surveyor of highways, but these were nevertheless positions of public trust to which only such men could be elected as commanded the confidence of the community. Under the old Boston town government, such other offices went to Muddy River residents as constable

and prison keeper, deacon in the church, and Captain in the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, which counted among its charter members three original grantees of the town, namely, John Oliver, Thomas Savage, and John Underhill. At least ten of these first citizens were considered prominent enough to be disarmed during the Wheelwright troubles of 1637, which is some indication that they were persons of local importance.

On the economic side, these people were almost all tradesmen, artisans and laborers. Among them were not less than seven described as servants, five shoemakers and four laborers. The rest included one or more representatives of the calling of the thatcher, bricklayer, carpenter, mariner, barber, tailor, innkeeper, slater, glover, cooper, tallow chandler, merchant, weaver, joiner, and even a teacher in the person of Philemon Portmont, the first public grammar school master in America. While such employments marked a distinctly artisan class, they nevertheless represented definite callings which distinguished the craftsman from the unskilled laborer.

These people who helped to settle Muddy River were none of them of such social importance as to be listed among the leading Boston families of the time, and only five of them contributed to the school fund, donors to which were described as of the 'richer inhabitants.' But they were men representative of that substantial group of citizens who were to form the yeomanry of the next generation.

While some fairly comprehensive picture of the grantees may thus be had, their precise relation as individuals to Muddy River is far less clear. It is certain that only a few of them made any immediate use of their allotments and still fewer became actual residents of the village. This is partly explained by the fact that at least twenty-nine of the grantees appear in the *Boston Book of Possessions*, as owners of more or less extensive properties in Boston, and many of them doubtless found it more convenient to live there.

NEW REGULATIONS

Before discussing the population further, however, it seems appropriate to dispose of the rest of the Muddy River allotments.

Up to this time, grants of land had been made on terms designed primarily to secure orthodox proprietors, and the regulations of the town meeting had been given scrupulous attention. Such a policy not only assured a regulated expansion, but did much to strengthen the economic stability of the class which a well bolstered theocracy had chosen to control the colony. But, as has been observed, some of the best laid plans fail to work out exactly as has been intended, and the next three years, during which the available acres at Muddy River were completely exhausted, saw the introduction of familiar methods of land exchange, though the standards for the selection of settlers remained as before.

In the summer of 1638, a meeting of the selectmen ordered that no house should be sold without some part of the 'great allotments,' unless the consent of the 'overseers of the Townes occasions' was first obtained. There is no evidence that this was aimed particularly at Muddy River, but its purpose appears to have been to keep ownership and residence in the same hands, leaving however a power of discretion in the selectmen if circumstances seemed to warrant the sale of a dwelling apart from the farm to which it properly belonged.

Before the close of the year, on January 21, 1639, the first recorded sale of land in Muddy River was made. It is possible that there was some evasion about the transaction and that the real parties did not appear on the record. Robert Scott, a servant of John Sanford, conveyed to Thomas Savage the great allotment of twenty-three acres originally granted Richard Fairbanks. More than two years earlier, Fairbanks had been charged with speculative tendencies and had paid a fine of eleven shillings. Both he and Savage were men of distinction in the colony, and Scott may have been only a go-between in the transaction. The purchase price was £13 16s., or about \$3.60 an acre for land in the Washington Square section of modern Brookline, though even this does not seem exorbitant for having held a public grant for a little more than a year.

THE LAST GRANTS OF LAND

By December of 1639, sixteen grants were added, making a total of eighty-seven since John Cotton was awarded his spacious

farm. The scene was being filled. Land was running short. Available acreage at Muddy River would not much longer be adequate to meet the continued demand, and the inhabitants of Boston began to act cautiously in the face of an impending shortage.

When a lot was granted to Richard Sherman for 'seven heads' it was with the provision, 'if it be there to be had.' This was December 11, 1639, when three hundred acres were set aside as 'perpetual Commonage' for the use of the 'inhabitants there' as well as of those in the town of Boston itself. The common was to be set aside before any other allotments were laid out, a precaution which makes it apparent that there was uncertainty as to how much land remained to satisfy future claimants. From this time careful restrictions were observed, and new grants were promised only with the qualification that previous pledges must first be redeemed.

The sudden awareness of a threatened shortage had the natural effect of enhancing land values. The Fairbanks sale is the earliest of which there is record, but it was presumably followed by other exchanges, and the town itself began to dispose of grants in consideration of a moderate scale of payments. In February, 1640, forty-two grantees were sold land in Mount Wollaston at three shillings an acre; and the next month marsh land was set out at Muddy River for John Odlyn, one of the earliest settlers, described as a cutler or armorer, and disfranchised as an Antinomian in 1637. He was to pay a price to be fixed by the next town meeting.

So general and so profitable did this practice become that in April, 1640, William Hibbins was chosen treasurer of the 'towns stock' to care for proceeds arising from the sale of lands. At length, on October 26, it was ordered 'that there shall be noe more land graunted at muddy river, nor the mount, untill such lands as are already graunted are layd out, and the residue of the land knowne what the acres are.' The resources of public lands were nearly exhausted, and a record dated January 10, 1641, states: 'It's ordered that there shall be noe more Lands granted unto any Inhabitants that shall hereafter be admitted into the Towne, unless it be at a generall Townsmeeting.'

Thus, between the last of the great allotments of January 8,

1638, and the last recorded grant, May 28, 1641, the land situation in Muddy River underwent pronounced and rapid change. The choicest lands were disposed of, sales tended to discount the paternal care of the selectmen, and the less ready availability of land made it more valuable. A foundation had been laid, and a watchful town meeting had sought by the standards of the times to assure the Muddy River region a suitable citizenry. The final grants complete the record of the original holders of the area.

Several features distinguish these last allotments from the earlier ones. First is the size of the grants, most of which exceed twenty acres, and two of which extend to three hundred and six hundred acres respectively. There is almost a total lack of lot descriptions, the established boundaries being fixed largely by documentary evidence apart from the town records. Finally, entries indicate that only sixteen of these grants were actually completed, the others being withheld, perhaps because of lack of land, or on account of the removal of the petitioners from the area.

CHARACTER OF INHABITANTS

The size of the grants may be explained in part by the character of the leading grantees and in part by the nature and remoteness of the allotments. Eminent citizens got more land, and so did those whose acreage was unadvantageously located. To William Tyng, a 'merchant of distinction' went the largest grant. He had come to Boston in the summer of 1638, having chartered the *Nicholas* for himself, his family, and his goods. Aside from holding positions of the highest responsibility in the colony, he left one of the largest estates of his day, and a group of daughters who made distinguished marriages in the New World. His great lot at Muddy River for eight persons and forty-two head of cattle, with 'thirtie heads to come,' ultimately measured six hundred acres, the largest single grant in the community, and probably the most extensive farm in the history of the town.

Adjacent to him was William Hibbins, for a time an exceedingly important person. He probably came in the *Mary and John* in 1634, and soon acquired an extensive estate, though it

was much diminished in his late years. Selectman, special commissioner and assistant of the colony from 1643 until his death, he was allotted three hundred acres of land, besides smaller parcels in the swamps, and to this he added the area originally granted to Underhill, Arratt, Deming and Mears, making him the second largest proprietor in the region. His wife, because 'she had more wit than her neighbors,' was executed as a witch in 1656, two years after his death, and there were no descendants to perpetuate his name.

There are other names of equal or greater prominence in this list of proprietors, that need little explanation to students of the period. John Leveritt, son of Thomas, continued to add the luster of a famous family to the community. 'No man in our country,' writes the painstaking Savage, 'ever filled more important offices, nor with happier repute'; and there were, indeed, few public honors that were not granted him, and few public offices that he did not hold. James and Peter Oliver, both merchants of eminence and influence, and the sons of elder Thomas Oliver, started a second generation in Muddy River on their forty- and sixty-acre properties.

Jacob Eliot, son of John Eliot, called the Apostle to the Indians, was for ten years a selectman in Boston, and despite the fact that he was a staunch supporter of Wheelwright, was deacon of the First Church a short three years after that trouble was over. Joshua Scottoe, 'not so popular as many others,' a churchman, but never sworn a freeman, was the son of the widow Thomasyne, whose earlier grant in Muddy River has been mentioned. Henry Webb became known for his interest in the iron works at Lynn, his benefactions to Harvard College, and the fact that he was able to amass an estate of £8000.

FIRST POPULATION

The names recited include nearly half of those who received land, and represent about four fifths of the acreage awarded, between the time of the great allotments and the final grant, in May of 1641, to Robert Turner. The rest of the available land was disposed of in much the same manner, but probably with closer attention to matters of use and settlement.

As will appear, four of the grantees, Robert Harris, Griffin

Bowen, George Curtis, and John Kendrick, lived on their grants, the nucleus of a small settlement that by 1650 was to number some twenty-five families. There may have been others at the beginning. Indeed, of those promised allotments that seem forgotten after a single entry in the town records, there is enough fragmentary evidence to show conclusively that some were completed and used. But precision in the observance of formalities was never a mark of town meeting government, and if formal records were ever made, they are probably forever lost.

With the grant to Robert Turner, the allotments at Muddy River were completed, except for a few odd bits of marsh, and free land was never again given by the town of Boston to prospective settlers. Within seven years from the first allotment, the public domain was virtually exhausted, and thereafter land was to be had only through the ordinary channels of private conveyance. Beginning with generous grants to distinguished citizens in the middle sections of the area, the process of dispersal continued with the famous allotments of January 8, 1638, to more numerous but less well-known applicants, and culminated, as it had begun, with the assignment of large farms to men of property in the remaining area to the southwest — men who represented either a new generation, or more recent arrivals in the New World.

Despite the fact that definite figures are entirely lacking for the early population of Boston, a careful examination of military lists, tax assessments and contemporary estimates places two thousand people as a generous number in 1643. In this year Johnson, writing his *Wonder-Working Providence*, estimated that since 1628, over 21,000 passengers had arrived in New England, nearly half of whom removed to different sections of America or returned to the old country.

Those admitted to the freedom of the colony by the summer of 1641 numbered only 1292, probably not exceeding nine or ten per cent of the total inhabitants. At this ratio, possibly 200 belonged to Boston, and approximately a third of these had applied for and received land in Muddy River. To be a free-man almost inevitably meant being a church member. If, therefore, Lechford's claim is correct that three fourths of the

people were outside the church, the initial proprietorship of Muddy River was composed almost entirely of that small ruling group within the colony.

This state of affairs is of the utmost importance in understanding the development of Brookline, for so vigorous and select a heritage formed a mold that generations failed to alter. A common proprietary interest that brought together such men as Cotton, Colborne, the Olivers, the Leveritts, Hibbins, Webb, Tyng and the Scottoes, and was extensive enough to allow them possession of nearly half the allotted area, was certain to be a strong directive force in the history of Muddy River as well as in the eighteenth-century town of Brookline. On this background is thrown a stable group of minor proprietors who represent the 'poorer sort of inhabitants' only in a relative way. To a very large extent they were churchmen, freemen, skilled artisans, owners of property on the Neck; and their very presence in the New World was evidence of superior enterprise and vigor.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNITY SPIRIT GROWS

FIRST STRUCTURES

THE discussion of land ownership has thus far been taken up mainly with the estates of those great men of Boston who, as absentee proprietors, used their acres at Muddy River simply as grazing and agricultural tracts; and with the smaller properties of accepted artisans whose inclination or livelihood kept them in residence on Boston peninsula. But the early grantees were by no means entirely of this class. Griffin Craft has been suggested as the first white settler of record in the vicinity, and although his farm was not in Muddy River, he lived near enough to be grouped with the first residents, and later generations of his family were prominent in the community.

Among the very early records of grants there are references to only two shelters in the Muddy River area: William Colborne's 'house' and 'Mr. John Coggershall's wigwam.' There is no evidence that Colborne ever lived in Muddy River; he was a prominent citizen of Boston, and the 'house' referred to was probably no more than a shed or some temporary structure. When the land was sold to Peter Aspinwall and Robert Sharp in 1650, the deed made no specific mention of a dwelling — merely a hundred and fifty acres, more or less, with 'all house-ing fencings woods marshes &,' and an additional sixteen acres in the common field.

Nobody knows what the wigwam of John Coggeshall was, but it cannot have amounted to much. At the time of the great allotments, he had been a member of the committee in charge, and there is room for speculation that he may have taken an active interest in the survey and established a kind of field headquarters to expedite the work. But it has been generally supposed that this wigwam was a temporary shelter from which his cattle were tended, and the mere fact that he never owned land in Muddy River does not make this view untenable.

Apart from references in grants, there are other items which

may aid in identifying the very first settlers. In the records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony under date of April 7, 1635, eight months before John Cotton's grant was promised him, appears the entry:

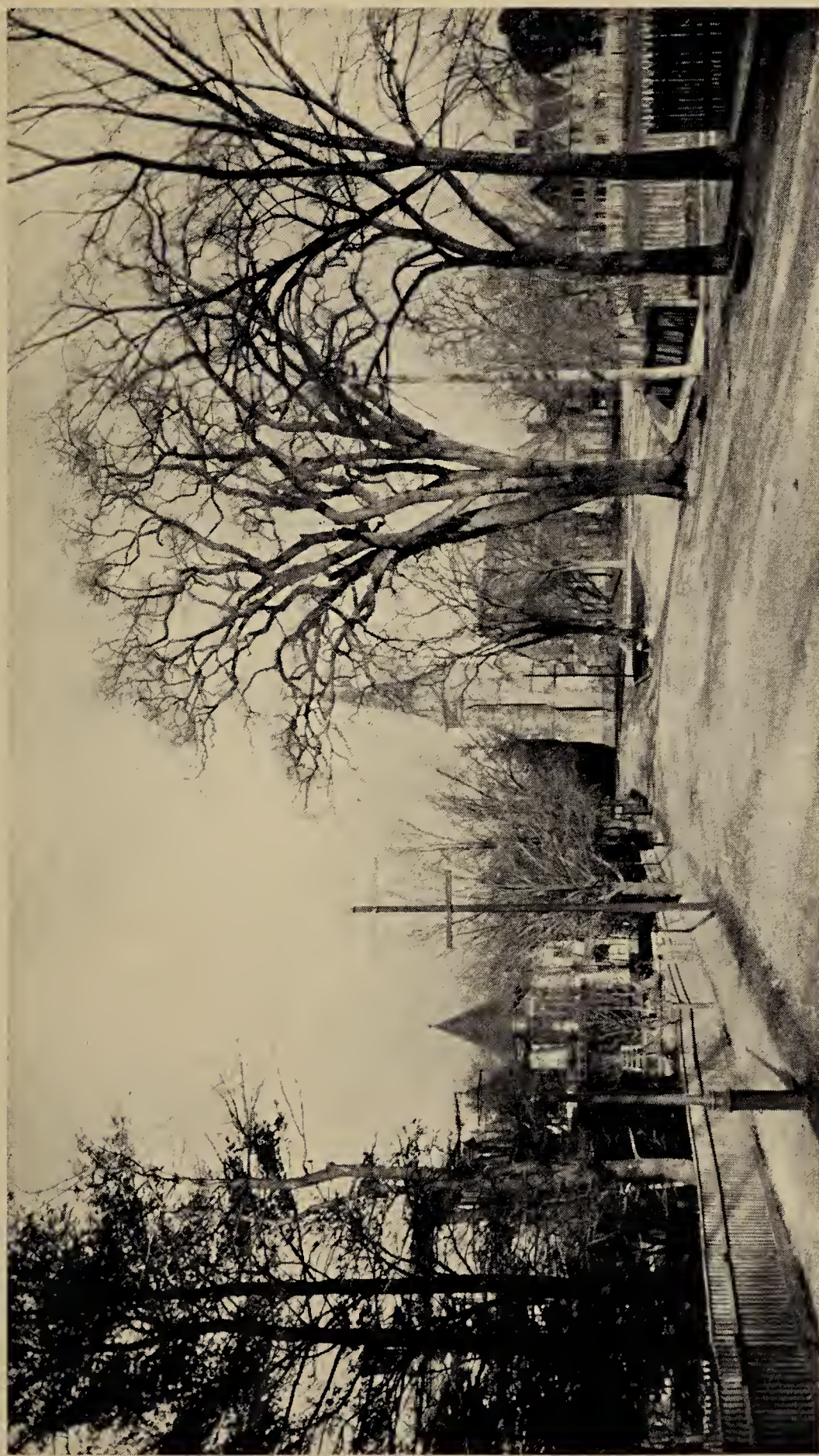
Griffin Montague shalbe sett in the bilbowes, for stealing boards & clapboards from Mr. Wilbore & is enioned to remove his habitacion from Muddy Ryver before the nexte generall Court under penalty of v^l.

This citizen seems to have been a bit of a nuisance. There is no evidence that he received a land grant at Muddy River, nor are there further notes of his activities in the local records. He was probably a 'squatter' — one of those who appropriated ungranted and unoccupied acres, and gave rise to the order of January, 1636, which made such irregular use legal for a period of three years. At any rate, though his claim to a place in the history of Brookline is almost purely technical, he is the first settler whose actual occupation of the area is known to rest on a documentary basis.

ESTABLISHMENT OF HOMES

James Fitch, probably accompanied by his brother Richard, lived in Muddy River with the earliest inhabitants. A young man of thirty or thereabouts, and a tailor by trade, he arrived in Boston by 1635. His name vanishes from the records with the comment that he was 'of Muddy River 1638.' Jarratt, or Gerrard Bourne, the servant of William Colborne, certainly occupied a site in the vicinity as early as 1643. He was, indeed, with Thomas Grubb, a fence-viewer three years before; and he remained identified with the region until his removal to Rhode Island some twenty years later.

William Thorne, laborer, of Boston, was there in 1644. By 1645 Edward Devotion was living 'in that part of Boston called Muddy River,' and about two years later his wife, Mary, was with him. It is beyond doubt that Cotton Flack had a dwelling in the hamlet by the winter of 1648, the second house mentioned in contemporary records as within the area. As early as 1650, Peter Aspinwall was a resident, and perhaps a decade later he built the home destined to be a famous landmark until 1891.



ASPINWALL AVENUE ABOUT 1890
St. Paul's Church and (at right) the old Peter Aspinwall house

John White was there also in 1650, and 'Goodman Sharp' by 1652. An order of the Boston selectmen demanding that the wife of Christopher Piggot be returned to her husband at Muddy River, confirms an additional family by April, 1655. And there can be little doubt that Robert Harris, Ann and John Kendrick, Thomas and Joanne Buckminster, John and Sarah Parker, and some others lived in the village well before 1660.

Such records can never be complete, but it is probable that twenty-five or thirty families were actual residents of Muddy River before 1660. Mrs. Lee's description in *Naomi* makes a pretty picture, but there is in it an air of order, symmetry, and established life that fits awkwardly with a region only a few axe-strokes removed from a wilderness. 'The flocks and herds of cattle, feeding upon the lovely meadows of Brookline, shaded by large timber trees, with scattered cottages upon the rising ground' shows a bountiful and well-populated landscape, but even the widely known 'Muddy River List' of 1674 contains only forty-four names; and those who took the oath of allegiance in April, 1679 (all above sixteen years of age) comprise sixty-nine names, representing a scant forty families. Indeed, even though the records be scanned to 1705, when the hamlet became the town of Brookline, three hundred inhabitants would be a generous estimate, and this number increased but slowly until the Revolutionary War.

FOUNDING FAMILIES

The most important feature of the middle period of the seventeenth century is the disappearance of the absentee proprietors. The 'great men' of Boston for the most part disposed of their holdings in Muddy River, and left the way open for prominent owners and residents. True, John Cotton's heirs held their grant until well into the next century and the Jacob Eliot allotment remained in that family for another generation. But the 'great lots' of the early days soon fell into other hands and it was not long before a dozen leading families assumed most of the responsibility for the conduct of local affairs.

When the Thomas Oliver farm was sold to John White in 1650, one of Brookline's oldest families made its first appearance.

This settler at once took an active part as a citizen and his sons carried on that tradition.

The same year Peter Aspinwall and Robert Sharp jointly bought William Colborne's grant and divided it. Robert Sharp himself died in 1653 before he had much opportunity to participate in public affairs, but his descendants won military distinction on numerous occasions. Peter Aspinwall, like his friend John White, filled a succession of village offices and raised a public-spirited family.

If the Whites, Aspinwalls, and Sharps were early in the field, there was another family of quite different heritage which, while destined to briefer activity, probably antedated them all in point of residence — that of Edward Devotion, a French Huguenot from La Rochelle, who, in 1645 was living at Muddy River. He acquired extensive properties and his son became known as a benefactor of the cause of public education.

Ronton Farm, made up of the original allotments of Captain John Underhill and Robert Mears, came into the hands of John Winchester, whose house stood probably near the corner of the present Warren and Cottage Streets. His numerous descendants came to occupy land in various parts of the town and most of them served in a wide variety of public offices.

Without interrupting the narrative, it is not possible to discuss personalities at great length at this point. But a few additional names must at least be mentioned here. There was Thomas Gardner, who became a resident of Muddy River in the sixteen-fifties, whose granddaughter married John Adams of Braintree and two members of whose family died heroically in the Revolution. Thomas Boylston married Mary Gardner in 1665, and went to live in the old house still standing opposite the west end of the old Brookline Reservoir. Through their twelve children an extensive and noteworthy line was established.

Isaac Stedman bought a large property in 1657. John Hull, son of Robert, an original grantee, acquired three hundred acres in what is now known as the Longwood portion of Brookline, and thus helped to make himself eligible for marriage into the Sewall family. The Goddards were comparatively late arrivals who first became residents of Muddy River in 1680, and gave rise to a distinguished line of patriots and merchants.

THE COMMUNITY DEFINED

These, then, were outstanding citizens of Muddy River at its beginning. Their character and abilities may be read in their accomplishments which give ample evidence of earnestness, strength of character, and capacity for getting things done.

Following accepted principles, frontier communities sought to limit their size and select their inhabitants, so as to assure a measure of compactness and social solidarity. A vast amount of hearty co-operation was necessary to the success of these settlements, and the group-mindedness from which such co-operation arose was, in itself, an expression of what might be called territorial loyalty. The neighbors with whom one works hand in hand must be neighbors *in a place*, and a place can scarcely be said to have identity until it has a name.

The order of the General Court assigning what is now Brookline to the dissatisfied congregation at Newtown, later Cambridge, had referred to the area as 'that ground about Muddy Ryver, belonging to Boston, & used by the inhabitants thereof.' This is the earliest known definition of the region and, scant as it is, it pacified Hooker and his followers for the time being. The grant was a matter of emergency, however, and not long afterward it was thought necessary to run a line to separate the extended territory of Newtown from the northern limits of the then contiguous town of Roxbury. The formula for this purpose was very simple: a line southwest from Muddy River near 'Mr. Nowells bridge' (probably the cartbridge earlier mentioned), the exact spot being marked by a tree scarred on four sides, and thence northeast following the river to its mouth. While this made no provision for the southwest limits, and while important alterations have since been made all along the line, in a general way it approximates the southeastern boundary of Brookline as it remains today.

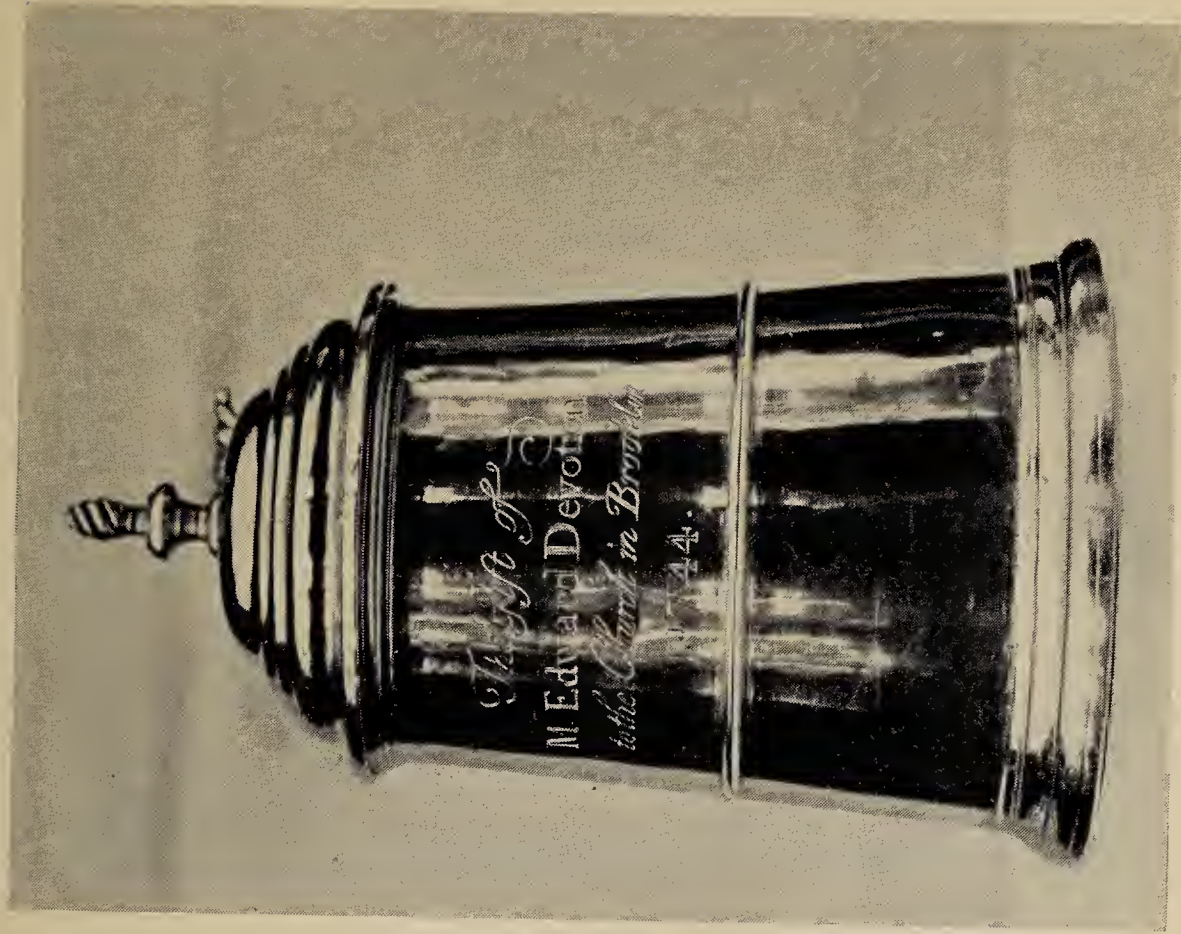
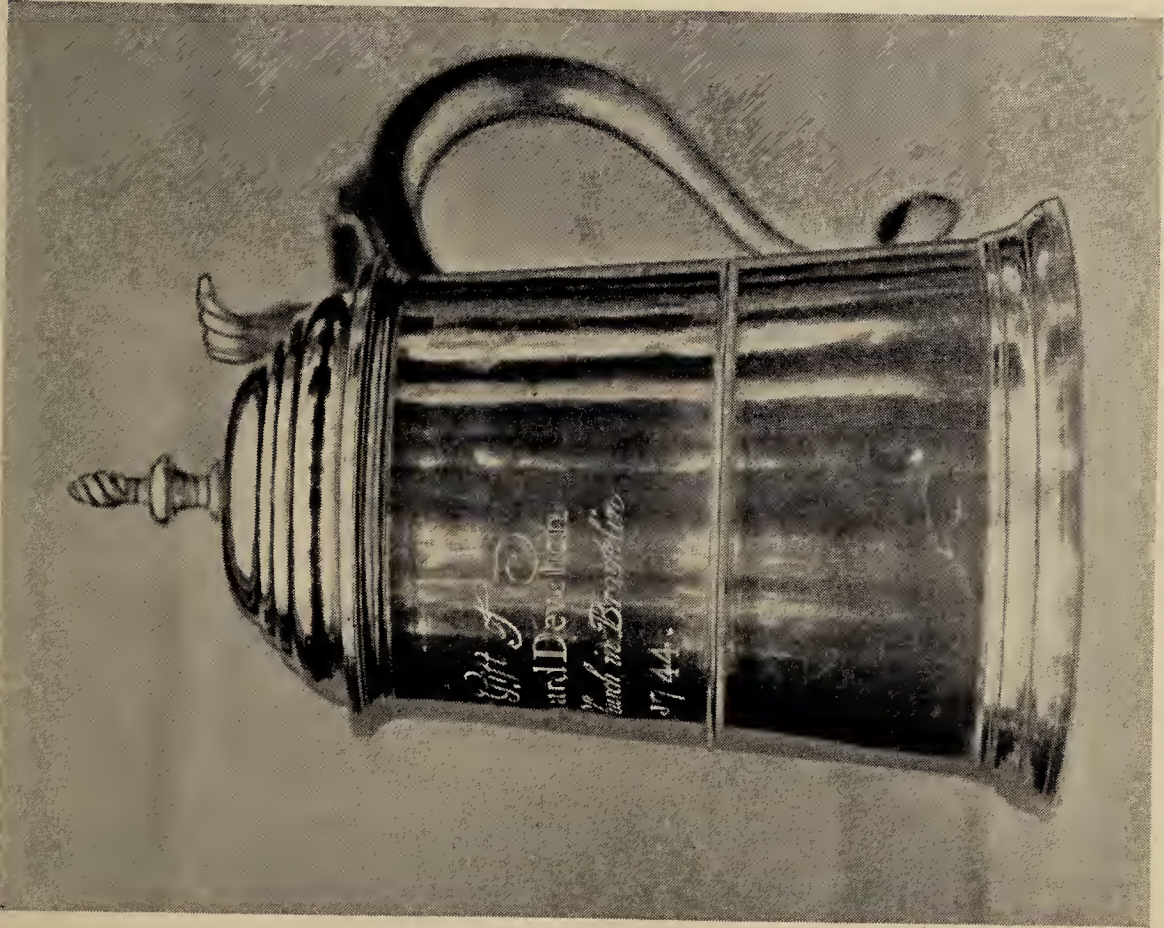
It will be recalled, however, that Muddy River was shortly returned to Boston, and that the description accompanying this transfer was vague and unsatisfactory. Consequently, in 1639, citizens of Boston, Muddy River, and Cambridge were appointed to give a clearer definition of boundaries. The report of that committee affords the first official definition of the northwest line of Brookline:

Wee, whose names are underwritten, being appointed by the townes to which we belong to settle the bounds between Boston & Cambridge, have agreed that the partition shall run from Charles River up along the channel of the small brooke to a marked tree upon the brinke of the said brooke, neare the first and lowest reedy meddow, & from that tree in a straight line to a great red oake, formerly marked by agreement at the foot of the great hill on the northermost end thereof, & from the said great red oake to Dedham line, by the trees marked by agreement of both partyes, this 2d 8th month, 1640.

per Boston	Thomas Oliver
	Willi: Colbron
per Cambridge,	Richard Champres
	John Bridge
	Grego: Stone
	Joseph Isaack
	Thom: Marrett

The 'small brooke' was for many years known as Smelt Brook. In later days it flowed beneath the Boston and Albany right-of-way and across Brighton Avenue, whence it debouched into an elliptical pond that some fifty years ago was on the W. H. Foster estate. It is probably near this point that the 'marked tree... neare the first and lowest reedy meddow' was located. From here the line went straight to the 'great red oake... at the foot of the great hill on the northermost end thereof,' probably near the present junction of Commonwealth and Brighton Avenues; and thence to the Dedham line.

Aside from the fact that this boundary does not today come within a mile and a quarter of Dedham, since the southern line of Brookline was not determined until later, the partition remains almost the same. In modern times Smelt Brook has almost vanished; a vague indentation north of the Boston and Albany right-of-way at Babcock Street is all that remains. The pond has disappeared beneath the corner of Commonwealth Avenue and Brighton Avenue, and the 'great hill' is the despair of motorists on ice-bound winter days. But the line remains, marked by stone monuments in place of blazed trees, much as the first committee determined it.



THE EDWARD DEVOTION TANKARD
Given to the First Parish in 1744 and still in use

When boundaries were fixed solely in terms of prominent trees, convenient swampy areas, and shifting brooks, their maintenance was a constant source of concern to the adjacent towns. Frequent re-examinations were necessary to take account of changes in the boundary markers, and to assure the continued identification of those that remained. It was important always to have some people in every community who had been over the lines on official responsibility, and knew from observation exactly where they were.

Hence, in 1649, 'Mr. Bowen and Peter Oliver is chosen for perambulation at Mudye River,' marking the first of the periodic excursions which Brookline has perpetuated to the present time. Some ten years later, 'Mr. Davis, Peter Oliver and Edward Devotion, and Henry Stevens are chosen to goe the Bounds of the Towne betwixt Cambridge, Braintree, Dedham, and that Way,' the final phrase standing as the first reference to possible boundaries on the southwestern side of the hamlet.

During the succeeding fifteen years five perambulations were undertaken, all of which were concerned with the Cambridge and Roxbury lines. The Cambridge line seems to have caused a deal of dissatisfaction, so that in the spring of 1655 it was agreed to run it anew, and shortly afterward some sort of working agreement was reached. But in 1668 a complete resurvey was undertaken, and the account spread upon the records of the Boston town meeting incorporates a detailed description of the northwest boundary.

The first tree [the record reads] we found in ye said Smelt Brooke is marked with B. for Bostone and C. for Cambridge and is 1^o a white Swamp wood by some called a plumb tree.

- 2 beyond the meadow a little walnut
- 3 a Red oake marked B. C.

And so the description continues, through ninety-four items, oaks, walnuts, maples, meadows, swamps, and piles of stones, concluding with 'a birch with B. C. R.' (*i.e.*, Boston, Cambridge, Roxbury), probably the first marker of what is now the southwest corner of Brookline.

At intervals of about three years, perambulations continued

throughout the seventeenth century, and Muddy River thus received and retained substantially the shape and dimensions that it now has.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

If the inhabitants felt it important to define the limits of their community, it was of still greater significance to them to mark the bounds of their own farms. These were Englishmen in whom the tradition of respect for property was deep, and the desire for land strong. Thus it was that among them a properly constituted fence became perhaps the first symbol of civic liberty. It was a natural thing, therefore, that the first order known to have been directed at Muddy River by the town of Boston was to require that field fences be made secure at the proportionate expense of the planters, and to fix a penalty for 'every Rodd undone.' A similar regulation was enacted two years later in 1639; and in October of 1640 the first public officers for the hamlet of Muddy River were chosen as 'overseers of the fence' and their authority was conferred in the terms of the first by-law applying exclusively to the area.

From the beginning the responsible duties of the fence-viewer were entrusted to substantial citizens. They were obliged to settle neighbors' disputes with practical fairness and to see that the law was faithfully executed. At first their instructions were concerned only with the 'feild fences,' then later with the 'Corn feild fence,' and finally with just 'the fence.' In this broadening of the term is evidence of enlarging responsibility. A little later the viewers were given the added duty of designating certain men among the proprietors from time to time to attend to maintaining the fence around the commons.

Agriculture and cattle on the one hand, and public and private property on the other, were calling for diversified treatment not only in the interest of a fair division of labor, but of fixing suitable types of fence as well. Thus, after twenty years of experimentation, the Boston town meeting codified the practice as follows:

Whereas divers offences arise through defective fences, and different apprehensions of the sufficiency of fences between proprietors; Itt is therefore ordered that all outside fences

aboutt pastures or cornfeilds shall be substantially fenced, either with five rayles, or posts and pales, or sufficient stone walls, or other wise, according to the judgment of the select-men; and that all partitionall fences between lott and lott shall be ordered by the select men, in case of the disagreement of the proprietors; and in case any damage arise to others, by the defect of fences, the party whose fence is defective shall pay damages, as shall be adjudged by the select men or any deputed by them upon the complaint of any damaged.

FIRST HIGHWAYS

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While the first general concern for Muddy River was in the matter of boundaries, and the first internal regulation had to do with fences, the question of transportation within the area had in one respect antedated both. The order providing for a cart-bridge at a convenient place over Muddy River was the earliest official notice taken of the place by the General Court, and highways within the region promptly became a matter of pressing importance.

In the first place, Muddy River was a pivotal point in westward traffic. From the earliest settlement of the town until the opening of the Mill Dam Road from Charles Street, Boston, across the bay and marshes to Sewall's Point in 1821, the present Washington Street (in Brookline) was the only way to and from Boston in this direction. Furthermore, Muddy River was an important place of transit for all communication by land with Cambridge, Watertown, Dedham, and beyond. Finally, there were local reasons for demanding immediate highway facilities and fixing their location, for convenient access was needed to the common lands, the marshes, and the river.

The first official recognition of these requirements was in 1640, when William Colborne and Jacob Eliot were appointed 'to lay out the high Wayes at Muddy River, towards Cambridge,' and in October of the same year Peter Oliver's name was added, and the three appointed to supervise the construction of a bridge, presumably the second 'to be made at muddy river.' In the summer of 1642 more extensive undertakings were contemplated, and a committee of three was selected to join with Dedham, Cambridge, and Watertown to lay out appropriate

ways to join these towns across the Muddy River area, as well as to prepare 'private wayes' to landing places along the river 'or otherwise.' What was accomplished under this mandate remains uncertain, but by the spring of 1651, Peter Aspinwall was appointed surveyor of highways for Muddy River; the following August, lands were again viewed for a proposed road into the marshes; and in the spring of 1654, another committee was named to join Cambridge in laying out a road through Muddy River to that town.

Apparently, then, down to mid-summer of 1654, none of the public ways had been completed; but it is certain that paths, lanes, and elementary roadways had been assuming shape from the earliest times. Not only do the fragmentary references gathered above point to considerable interest and development, but the area had been settled for twenty years and traffic within it as well as across it had surely come to conform to some sort of routine.

In the spring of 1657, however, perambulators were appointed to determine the waste lands at Muddy River, and were given the additional duty of laying out a highway to Watertown mill. Perhaps the actual need was greater, or perhaps the committeemen were simply less dilatory than their predecessors. In any event, the work was finished within less than a month, and the notice of its completion is the first record of a publicly constructed highway in Muddy River:

Notice given both to Watertown and Cambridge, that they might depute some to joyne with ours deputed to lay outt a high way from muddy river unto watertown mill, and upon ye 21st of this 2nd month it was (by partys deputed by the sd towns) performed, the sd way is four rods in Breadth and directed by markt trees.

It was this road that became Brookline's present Washington Street, and while on the official records it may be regarded as the oldest in the town, it is very likely antedated by another, both in construction and use. As has been indicated, there was no way of avoiding Muddy River in the course of land travel to the west. All communication from Boston in this direction passed by way of the present Washington Street (then Newbury

and Orange Streets), across the Neck near the present junction of Washington and Dover Streets, thence through the present Roxbury Street, Tremont Street, and by Huntington Avenue to Muddy River. Here the road went across the stream and into the 'Village,' leading from which to westward was the Sherburne Road, the oldest highway in Brookline and one of the oldest in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

A meeting of the selectmen of Boston on June 8, 1658, gave notice that a highway had been laid out across land owned by John White (formerly the Thomas Oliver grant), through Thomas Gardner's farm (part of the Thomas Leveritt grant), and thence to the farm of Isaac Stedman (the three-hundred-acre grant to William Hibbins in the southwest corner of Muddy River). It was declared that this road should be known as the town's highway, and 'the other way in the land is hereby relinquished.' This was in effect a relocation of the Sherburne Road.

It soon became plain that the new highway, cutting as it did across the farm of John White, had never met with the entire approval of that landowner, although he had had a part in laying it out. Difficulties had been partly anticipated by allowing him either to 'fence out' the new road or to set appropriate gates, presumably at his property lines. But a few weeks after the road was opened, White built a stone wall across it, and a fine of twenty shillings for each day's obstruction was ordered against him. He made repeated claims for damages to his property, and the selectmen finally allowed him the abatement of his town and country rates for the ensuing four years in full satisfaction of his claims.

THE CAMBRIDGE ROAD

As has been seen, a highway to Cambridge had been among the first projects proposed, but agreement between the towns appears to have been difficult, and the spring of 1661 arrived before they came finally to an understanding. Peter Oliver and Peter Aspinwall were then selected to act with Cambridge representatives to lay out a road connecting Muddy River with its neighbor on the northwest. They do not seem to have functioned effectively, however, for some ten months later, in January of 1662, a meeting was arranged at the home of John

White in Muddy River, at which Thomas Savage, William Davis, and Edward Rainsford were given authority to make arrangements with a committee from Cambridge for a highway to connect the towns. Evidently in anticipation of new difficulties, a third committee of Roxbury men was appointed to meet at the same time with the Boston and Cambridge delegates and act as arbitrators in event of a deadlock.

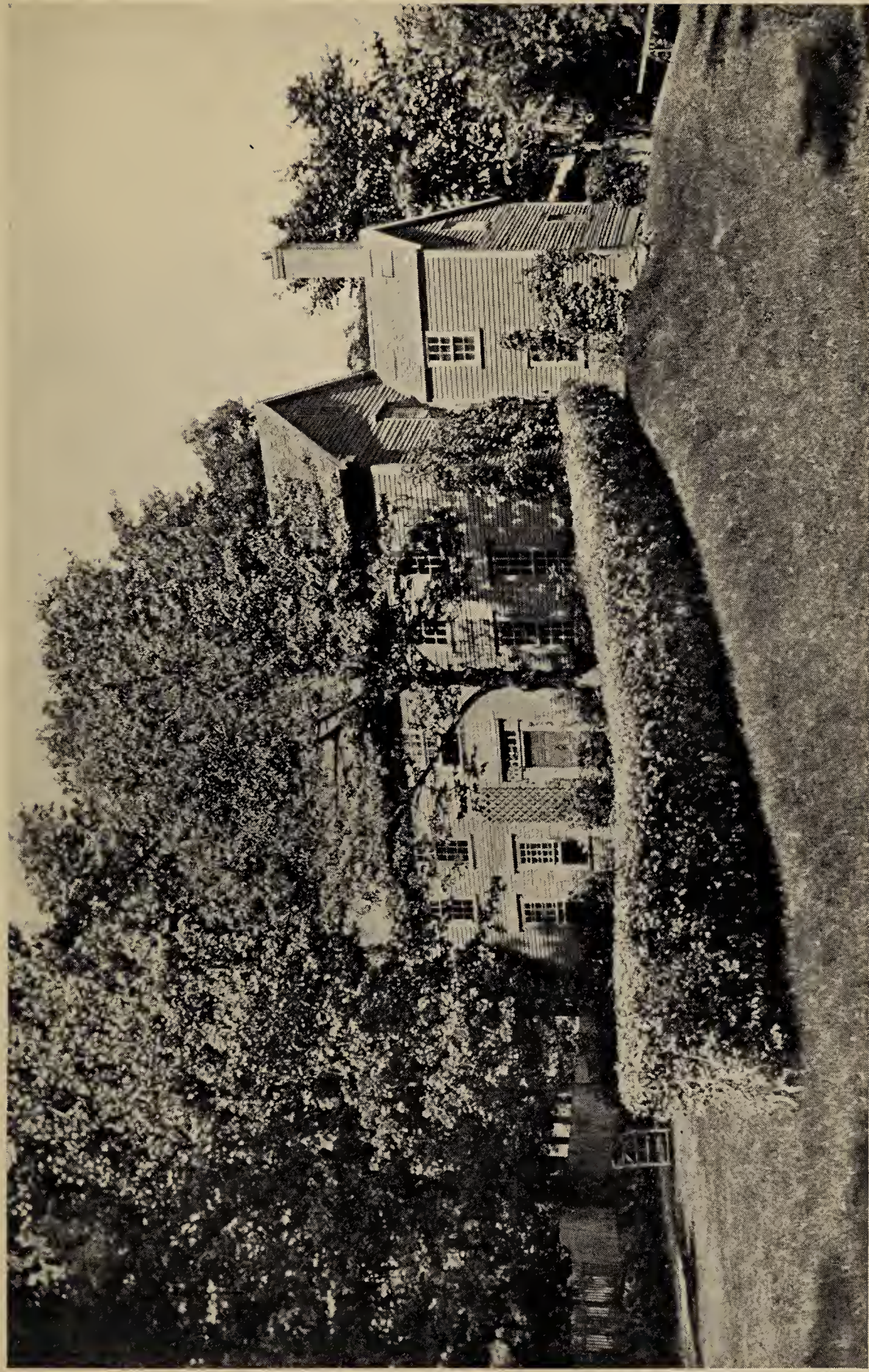
The following month the meeting took place, and the delegates made a fresh start by agreeing to disregard all former understandings about the road. But after struggling for a long time, the committees found themselves getting nowhere, and the dispute was submitted to the advisers from Roxbury. These gentlemen pronounced their conclusion 'that the said way shall goe without the common feild by Goodman Devotions and Goodman Stevens houses and soe to Cambridge bounds as the ould way now runneth, whereunto the committee of Boston concurred having left the same unto us...'

Even then, results were not immediate, but in the middle of the summer, Alexander Becke was allowed fifteen shillings for expenses incurred while 'measuring the Towne high way betwixt Boston and Cambridge & to be allowed out of Muddy Ryver rate.' This seems acceptable evidence that the project was at last carried through. The road, long known as 'the way to the Colleges,' is now Harvard Street.

The year 1662 thus found the three principal highways of Muddy River established: the Sherburne Road (Walnut, Warren, Boylston, and Heath Streets), the Watertown Road (Washington Street), and the Cambridge Road (Harvard Street). In addition, the records of the last quarter of the seventeenth century afford evidence of many minor projects.

PUBLIC SERVANTS

Boundaries, fences, and highways are essential parts of the physical equipment of community convenience; but they are a great deal more, too. In them the political observer sees indicators pointing ever toward the directive force we call self-government. Such services do not attend to themselves, and neither do isolated settlers habitually conduct their affairs with the propriety necessary to social harmony.



THE GARDNER-GODDARD-STEARN'S HOUSE

Built in 1718 by Deacon Thomas Gardner on the old Sherburne Road (Boylston Street).

In almost every case in early New England, towns started political life with a constable. 'There have been towns in Massachusetts,' wrote Herbert Baxter Adams, 'without selectmen, without Ministers, without a Church or Common School, but there never was a Town without a Constable.' He was the earliest and most essential symbol of corporate life, the first colonial officer to have his duties codified by the General Court (so soon as May, 1658, they were varied enough to include twenty-six provisions), and the most universal and persistent of all public servants.

But Muddy River, as a part of Boston, and for twenty years a very sparsely populated part, relied upon the parent community for the police protection that other places were forced to supply for themselves from the beginning. In the fall of 1640, Thomas Grubb and Jarratt Bourne were chosen fence-viewers for Muddy River by the selectmen of Boston. For more than a decade no other officers were supplied, until in the spring of 1652, John Kendrick was chosen constable for the area and Peter Aspinwall surveyor of highways. From this time the choice of constables for Muddy River is practically an annual matter, and fence-viewers and highway surveyors are constantly selected for the hamlet.

A change arose in the late sixties, when public officials not only became more numerous, but were chosen with due respect for the local preferences. In the spring of 1662, Alexander Becke was made a special officer to see to the proper yoking and ringing of swine in Muddy River; a few years later Edward Kibby was appointed clerk of the market; Peter Aspinwall, Edward Devotion, and John White were made special officers to see to the enforcement of an order of the General Court respecting the excessive and illegal use of liquor; and in the spring of 1680, Thomas Gardner, Sr., John Winchester, and James Pemberton were chosen tithingmen for Muddy River.

Here was a steady increase in public functionaries as well as in public functions, and the closer contacts and increased supervision that such circumstances predicated, aroused in the hamlet the desire for a larger measure of local control. At a town meeting in March, 1668, accordingly, a proposal of importance in this direction was acted upon: 'Whether the

Constables of Muddy Ryver & Rumny Marsh shall be hereafter chosen by lifting up of handes or putting in of papers left to future consideration...'

LOCAL ELECTIONS

Now voting in the town meeting was an important matter, and while in this early period it was probably in the main by acclamation, more precise methods were soon necessary, and 'election by papers' or the lifting up of hands was frequently resorted to when the issue was close. Election by papers did not require the ability to write, according to Thomas Lechford, who in *Plain Dealing* explains that a paper with *any* mark on it favored, and a blank paper opposed, the proposition before the meeting.

But in the case of Muddy River the difficulty went a little deeper. The inhabitants were approaching that period of civic adolescence where they wanted to have a positive and even dominant voice in the selection of their local officers. There were not enough of them, even when they shouted their loudest, to carry the Boston town meeting by acclamation. Counting individual votes did not increase their advantage. They sought not only a definite record, but a means of impressing the larger community; they wished to nominate their own officers with confidence that the town meeting would act in little more than a ratifying capacity. Consequently, in March, 1669, this important concession was made:

Ordered that the constable of Muddy river and Rumney marsh shall be chosen by lifting up of hands and yt the next yeare before the day of publique election, the select men apoint the Inhabitants of Muddy river and Rumney marsh to meete together & nominate constables & other officers proper for each place and the present constables bringe in their names to the next publique meeting on ye day of election there to be put to vote.

This is the first order permitting Muddy River to act as an independent political unit. Not only was the choice to be made by a counting of individual votes, but provision was made for the selectmen to call the inhabitants together before the annual election to nominate their own constables, and — better still

— other appropriate officers. These were to be the only names before the town meeting, and they might be certain of election unless in some very exceptional case.

TAXATION

Closely connected with the choice of officers as a requirement of local autonomy is the equally important business of the control of taxes. From the beginning Boston bore heavy financial burdens, and administered them in much the same manner as other towns in the colony.

The selectmen usually determined the total tax within a stated maximum, but property valuation was fixed by a special commissioner, who acted with the selectmen though he was chosen by the town meeting. The levy was always on general property, including items familiar to the community. Taxes were collected by the constables, and sometimes expended by them.

The rate was of two types. There was the country rate, or province tax, which rose steadily from forty-eight pounds in 1633 to well over a thousand pounds at the close of the charter period. And there was the town tax, usually exceeding the 'countrey levy,' which by the close of the colonial period amounted to some six hundred pounds 'rate pay' each year, most of which went to maintain highways and free schools, with a residue to pay official salaries, care for the poor and sick, and maintain public property.

Muddy River is first treated as a separate fiscal unit in the spring of 1662. In March of that year, a country rate of about ninety-six pounds, payable in wheat or barley 'att 4s. 6d. p. bushell, and peas att 3s. 6d. p. bushell, or if in monny rebating the fifth part thearof,' was levied by the selectmen of Boston. To the order was appended: 'Alsoe [a rate] for Muddy River to the summe of £4. 1s. 6d. to be leued as above sd. ye aboue mentioned raites Committed to the severall respective Constables.'

During the next decade there are five assessments against Muddy River, rising as high as twenty-five pounds in 1671, and varying from about two and one half to five per cent of the total country and town rates that fell on the people of Boston.

In 1674 there is mention of a special assessment, with an order to the constable of Muddy River to erect a new pound 'within thire precincts.' Then in November of the following year the heaviest single assessment of the colonial period fell on the hamlet — £184 17s. to pay the almost ruinous costs of King Philip's War. In the fall of 1679 the first detailed statement of the Muddy River rate is spread on the records of the Boston selectmen:

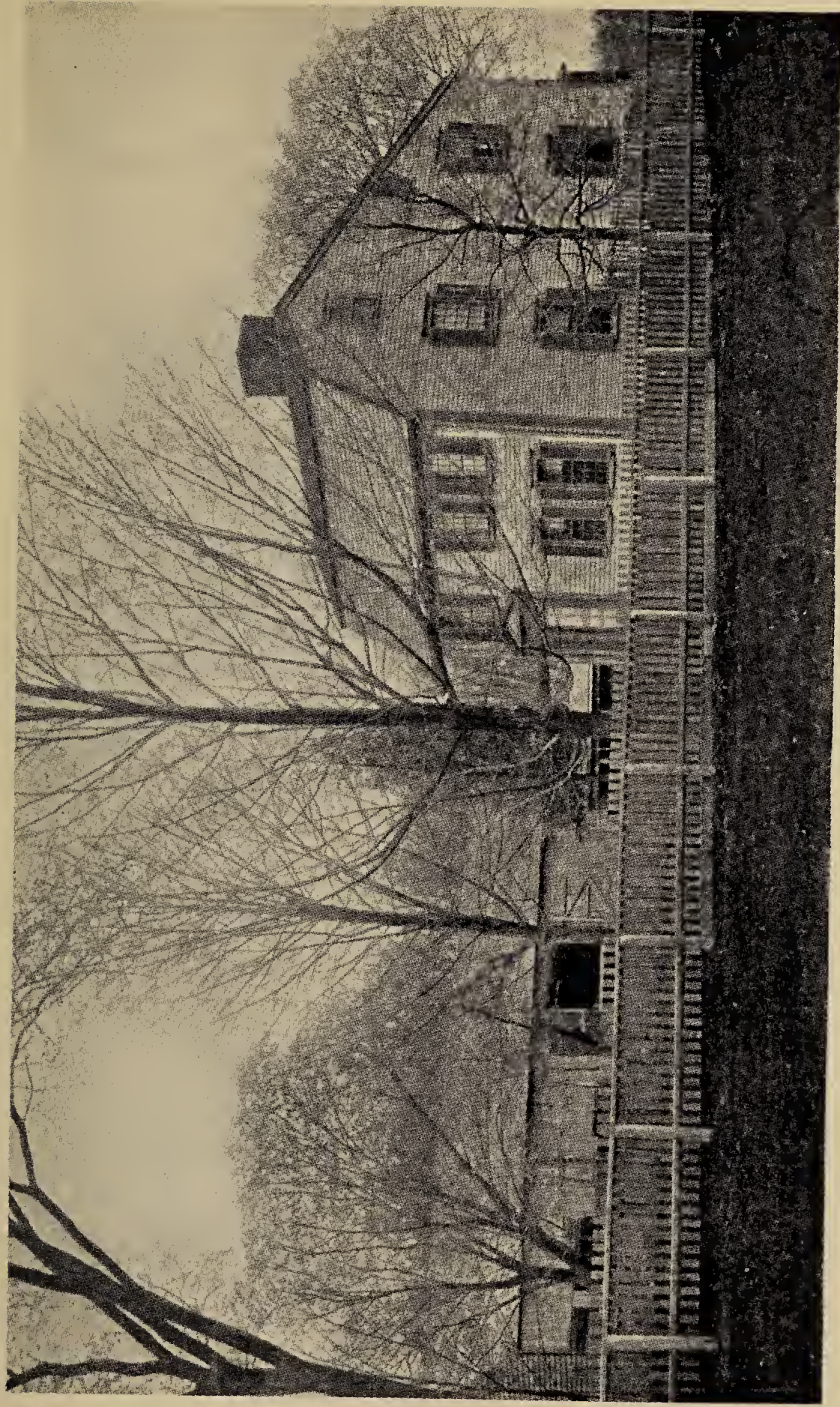
To the Constable of Muddy River, payable alsoe To the Towne Treasurer the severall rates as above For 4 single Countrie rates and 4 for the towne 1/2 pte. abated to pay mony	72.	17.	4.
For 1 single Countrie rate to be pd. in graine without abatem	9.	1.	5.
For 1/2 rate to be pd in mony	4.	10.	8.
	86.	9.	5.

And from this entry to the close of the colonial period, a fuller description of each levy is customary.

The actual tax lists for the Muddy River precinct that have been preserved, with their records of names and individual assessments, are few. The list of 1701 includes only the names of heads of families subject to taxation, with the number of polls for which each was responsible. However, the lists of 1693, one for the Muddy River poor rate and one for the country rate, indicate the taxpayers by name, the amount of each tax, and in the case of the country rate, a division of the the assessment between 'house and farme' on the one hand and 'estate' on the other. In both lists, Thomas Stedman and Benjamin White are the heaviest taxpayers in the community, with John Winchester, Samuel Aspinwall, John and Edward Devotion, Thomas and Joshua Gardner, Thomas Boylston, and Joseph Buckmaster among the leading contributors.

THOUGHTS OF INDEPENDENCE

From the physical viewpoint, maps a generation or two apart are striking summaries of development. Beginning with a simple and often abstract plot of land grants, from which a poorly understood terrain is unevenly apportioned among a highly mobile group of proprietors, there is derived a slow amalgamation of scattered properties, a recurrence of family



EDWARD DEVOTION HOUSE, HARVARD STREET
Built about 1680; the oldest house now standing in Brookline

names, a growing tangle of winding lines that circle hills and hug the stream beds to mark the first pattern of highways, and tiny symbols indicating known homesteads that will form community centers for many generations to come.

With such development, moreover, there grows a sense of community consciousness that increases as the ties of continuous residence endear the land and its memories to new generations of proprietors, and as regularity and assurance are given to necessary services that are the simple requirements of a frontier settlement. Citizens who have won the confidence of the community are chosen as public officers. Their selection becomes a matter of increasing importance as they touch the settlement in multiplying and widening circles of contact. There comes a time when a feeling of local solidarity requires that local officers be neighbors and residents, that tax rates be locally assessed and collected, that the officers be chosen by the citizens over whom their jurisdiction is to extend; and in this process of regulating its own life, the locality comes to be spoken of as a unit apart.

For half a century the hamlet of Muddy River showed signs of communal growing pains, and it came at last to a point in colonial history that marked a turbulent decade both at home and abroad. Pressure had been forming that was slowly to thrust the community into another stratum of self-government, a preliminary step toward that cherished field of complete local autonomy. This was a true departure to the people of Muddy River, and one as important to that day as the wider change of 1705 to the next generation. It took the form of a simple request that the hamlet be allowed to operate its own school, a motion that is first mentioned in the Boston town records of March 8, 1687, as 'referd to the Selectmen to consider of and to make theire report of it to the inhabitants at ye next towne meeting.'

CHAPTER IV

A SEPARATE VILLAGE OR PECULIAR

A CRISIS BRINGS OPPORTUNITY

MUDDY RIVER had for two generations been an appendage of the great town of Boston, and had, on the whole, followed very closely the life of the parent community. Its men had served with Boston contingents in the colonial wars, its people had been allied with the Boston and Roxbury churches, its taxes had been determined and assessed through the Boston town meeting, and its officers and its projects had received at least nominal approval of the 'peninsula.' Occasionally a Sewall, Gardner, Sharp, or White brought attention to himself and his community, and the hamlet arose for a moment from the obscurity of a mere suburb and heard its name mentioned as a place apart. Slowly, elementary officers were designated as of Muddy River, taxes were assessed on the area as for an administrative precinct, continuous perambulations gave definition to geographical boundaries, citizens acted as a unit in the Boston town meeting and in church affiliation at Roxbury, and Muddy River entered the early sixteen-eighties with many evidences of civic identity, and a record of increasing efforts toward fuller self-expression.

There was, moreover, a restless decade ahead for Massachusetts, the generative forces of which had been growing steadily since the Restoration in 1660. The government under the colony came to an end in October, 1684, and the *quo warranto* of the summer of the preceding year listed among its principal grievances an undue exercise of self-government. The newly appointed President of the Council, Joseph Dudley, gave assurance that his régime would require few changes. Apart from restrictions on the taxing privileges of the towns, and the refusal to permit deputies to the General Court to be chosen, local politics continued much as under the old order.

But the arrival of Edmund Andros in December, 1686, seriously changed the situation. Exceptional taxes were imposed, land titles were threatened, town meetings were narrowly re-

stricted, and the inhabitants of the country became increasingly uneasy in the presence of numerous and unusual laws.

The towns clung desperately to what they had. With protest and reservation they attempted to retain as much as they could of their old privileges. Boston, as was the case a century later, became the spokesman of the colony, and the record spread on the pages of one of her freemen's meetings was ominous evidence of a disturbed and stubborn public opinion:

It being put to vote, Whether the Freemen were minded that the General Court should make a full submission and intire resignation of our charter & priuiledges there in granted to his Majesties pleasure as intimated in the said Declaration now read. The Question was resolved in the Negatiue, Nemine contra dicente.

The hamlet of Muddy River was, of course, conscious of the troubled spirit of the times, but it seemed also to recognize opportunity in the circumstances, and make ready to seize it. History is full of episodes where great stores of accumulated aspirations burst into flame from the spark of an unnoticed resolution, and when Boston in April, 1683, made a purely routine provision for two free schools, the action seems to have had a wholly unintended effect. It unwittingly emphasized the advantages of the larger community. It called attention to a condition of dependence that was rapidly growing irksome.

No one at this day can reconstruct the whole story, but the record of the March meeting of the town of Boston in 1686 gives evidence that the inhabitants of Muddy River had decided that this was a good time to better their own situation. 'Muddy Rivers Motion for a Schoole [is] referd to the Selectmen to consider of and to make theire report of it to the inhabitants at the next towne meetinge.'

BOSTON IN DIFFICULTIES

However, this did not assure any immediate action. Boston was plainly reluctant to release her precinct even for the minor political function of supplying a free school. The parent town was passing through a period of financial stringency. It had suffered a costly Indian war, the loss of eighty dwellings and

seventy warehouses by fire in 1676, a general 'failing of trade,' and faced in addition further political and economic uncertainties that made any reduction in revenue a matter of concern. The maintenance of a free school at Muddy River, independent of Boston, could hardly be regarded except as a step toward independence, nor be approved but in the face of irresistible demand.

Boston therefore proceeded to seek refuge in the familiar political devices of vacillation and postponement, with the probable hope that delay might dissipate the force of the request, while promises of consideration would at the same time moderate the disappointment. The selectmen to whom the motion had been referred voted, in the latter part of the same month, that the matter be given consideration and that suitable steps be taken to inquire into the reasons for the Muddy River petition. On this a report was to be made to the general town meeting.

Thus the question was postponed, perhaps for a year, and might have been pigeonholed indefinitely had not the Boston strategy been based on a wrong conception of the force back of the Muddy River request. Far from soothing the petitioners or weakening their determination, it appears to have given them new firmness and larger notions.

Exasperated by the delay, they determined to take their grievance directly to headquarters, where they hoped for prompter and more sympathetic consideration. In consequence, a meeting of the Governor and Council in November, 1686, records an order 'that the Select Men of Boston meet with Mr. White of Muddy River on Thursday next at two in the afternoon to answer Mr. White relating to the schoole intended to be settled there.'

ENCOURAGEMENT FROM HIGHER UP

The expectation of a sympathetic hearing before the royal authority of the colony was probably well founded. Boston, even thus early, had evinced extreme dissatisfaction and even rebelliousness in the face of British policy; and it would be quite in keeping with His Majesty's wishes that so troublesome a town suffer some restriction.

Moreover, Joseph Dudley, born and reared in Roxbury, was President of the Council, and Jonathan Tyng (nephew of William Tyng, the largest original grantee in Muddy River) was a member. Both of them knew the hamlet well, and may for various reasons have encouraged its political aspirations. In any case, it is not surprising that a few weeks later, on December 6, 1686, favorable action was taken, in these words:

In answeare to the Petition of ye Inhabitants of Muddy Rivere praying to have Libertie to erect a Schoole &c. Upon the hearing thereof The President & Council do order That henceforth the sd Hamlet of Muddy River, be free from Towne Rates to the Town of Boston they mainetaining their own Highwayes & poor and other publick charges arising amongst themselues And that within one year next comeing they raise a Schoolhouse in such place as the two next Justices of the County vpon a Publick hearing of the Inhabitants of the sd Hamlet shall determine alsoe maintain an able reading and writinge Master there from and after that day, and that the Inhabitants annually meet, to choose three men to manage theire affaires.

This is an important document. It seems either that the Governor and Council had granted somewhat more than was requested, or that the petition had undergone considerable expansion since its submission to the town meeting a few months earlier. Previous records indicate that only a 'writinge Schoole for their children' was sought; but the result was freedom from all Boston rates, the maintenance of their own highways and care of their own poor, full charge of additional local matters, provision for the initial school as well as a plan for its location, and in conclusion a simple political framework to give these privileges effect. This last provided for a meeting of the inhabitants, and the choice of an executive group of three men to supervise affairs of the community.

Had such an order been given complete effect, it would have established virtual independence. In a few important matters the area was still an appendage of the parent settlement. Politically it remained the 'Hamlet of Muddy River.' It was still subject to Boston in matters of police, military

service, assessment and collection of country rates, the choice or confirmation of major officers, and representation in the colonial government.

THEIR OWN SCHOOL

Thus Muddy River negotiated the first step in her difficult climb to independence. On the following January 19 a 'town meeting' was held — a 'full meeting,' and the first recorded gathering within the area. The grant of the President and Council was formally accepted, and a practical application of the new powers was the next move. The meeting voted twelve pounds for the maintenance of a school master, to be supplemented by tuition fees from those students able to pay. Andrew Gardner, John White, Jr., and Thomas Stedman were selected as the 'three men to manage their affaires'; and Thomas Boylston was chosen town clerk and ordered to buy a book for record purposes.

But that book, beyond recording this first meeting, is silent as to the succeeding eleven years, and there is little to show what was actually done under these new privileges. Evidently a schoolhouse was built, probably at what is now the intersection of Walnut and Warren Streets, for the next extant record of the hamlet shows a vote that 'Mr. John Searl should teach school in sd Muddyriver from the first munday in May 1697 until the last day of february 1697 [1698, New Style].'

It was also 'voated by the Inhabitants of Muddyriver that twelve pounds should be levied upon the Inhabitants towards the schoolmasters salary according to a former voate of the Inhabitants upon the 19th of January 1686.' Further, provision was made for the repair of the schoolhouse and pound.

The next record affecting education appears in 1705 when an appropriation of twelve pounds was again made, and new repairs ordered. There has been some confusion as to the establishment of early schools in Muddy River, but it is fairly clear that the building described was the earliest, erected near the meeting-house of the First Church. The school-lane house, on School Street, may possibly have antedated the other, but it seems more likely to have been the result of an order of March 5, 1711 providing for the erection of 'two School houses.'

REVERSALS

The other concessions of the Governor and Council appear to have made considerable difference in the life of the hamlet, but only for a time. An unpleasant issue had been raised with Boston, which resented Muddy River's assumption of these new privileges. And rights which in part owed their origin to His Majesty's disaffection with the town of Boston, were in a measure at the mercy of the barometer which reflected the fortunes of the Governor and Council.

The legislation of the Andros government continued to arouse the bitterest opposition, and the accession of William of Orange in November, 1688, found an exasperated colony ready to seize any advantage that political confusion at home might make possible. The result is well known — the government was overthrown, Andros imprisoned, a 'Council for the Safety of the People and Conservation of the Peace' set up, and the old charter accepted until 'an Orderly Settlement' should arrive from England. Accordingly, before the summer of 1689, almost every trace of this unhappy régime had vanished, and Muddy River was quick to feel the pressure that an unwelcome but fortuitously friendly government had been able to hold in check.

From the Bostonian viewpoint, recognition of the Muddy River demands was probably one of the tyrannical acts of the usurping Andros against which that town had so vigorously protested. The records help little toward gaining a picture of public feeling, however, until the curt announcement of the town meeting of March 10, 1690, to the effect that the inhabitants of the hamlet are not to consider themselves as discharged from Boston, but are to stand related to the parent settlement as they did before the order of 1686.

Whether this declaration had any practical effect it is impossible to determine. Even under the liberal grant of the Governor and Council, many important functions, as has been indicated, remained with the town of Boston. Constables and surveyors had been chosen, or at least affirmed, by the Boston town meeting as formerly; country rates were administered as they had always been; but there is no record of assessments in Muddy River by the selectmen of Boston during the period.

In August, 1690, however, the area was again assessed for local rates, and the following October was sharing its burden for the poor of Boston. But from this time until 1700 there appears to have been a complete cessation of such levies, and the assumption is that Muddy River was largely free from financial obligations to the peninsula. It seems as though the fight was really won in 1686, and that while the order of 1690 probably caused some loss of ground, the hamlet was never reduced again to its former subservience, but continued steadily to make secure its initial gains.

RENEWED ASPIRATIONS

A few years passed, during which the records of Boston contain only routine references to Muddy River. The selection or confirmation of constables, surveyors, tithingmen, fence-viewers, and perambulators seems to have been the principal function of the town meeting toward the restless suburb. But that the episode of 1690 still rankled in the minds of the inhabitants is beyond dispute.

The colonial charter of October 7, 1691, had re-established a General Court, each town to select two representatives, and in May, 1698, the citizens of Muddy River were again pressing their demands before this tribunal. The new petition called attention to previous efforts, reminded the members that the Governor and Council had in 1686 given the privileges that they then requested, and concluded by asking confirmation of the grant that had been summarily annulled by the town of Boston, with legal aspects which must have been exceedingly dubious. And there was a brief addition: they prayed to be allowed to choose the necessary officers and especially a constable to collect both country and local rates. Thomas Gardner, Benjamin White, and Roger Adams signed the petition 'In the name of the inhabitants,' and there was appended to the document a 'true List of the names Given, December ye 20th, 1697' indicating twenty-nine sponsors of the petition, two opposed, and six 'Neuters.'

LOST GROUND REGAINED

The date of the petition is May 25, 1698, but the local vote approving it had apparently been taken the preceding December. Under March 14, 1698, there is this entry in the town records of Boston:

Voted that rumny Marsh and Muddi rever, Each place haue Liberty to Chuse an Assessor to Set with the Select men, for the making of their Own Rates. Each place is to make their chose of their sd. Assessor. On their first Training Day, and when Chosen, to bring them on ye day of a publick Town meeting to be confirmed by the Town.

The General Court of the colony received the communication from Muddy River, took it under advisement, referred it to the next session, and directed the 'town of Boston to be Notified thereof.' There seems no official trace of what ultimately happened with respect to this petition, but the manuscript copy is endorsed thus:

May ult: 1698. Read June House of Representatives & Committed.

June 7th. In answer to this petition

RESOLVED. That the petitioners be allowed what they herein pray for, and that all those persons mentioned in a list of the Inhabitants of sd. Hamlet hereto annexed, whether Neuters or otherwise, be compelled to pay their respective proportions to the charge above mentioned; and that it so remains until the Generall Court take further Order

Natha. C. Byfield Speaker

Sent up for Concurrence

In the House of Representatives

Voted that ye petition be Referred to ye Next Sessione of this Corte that the town of Boston have opportunitie to act or speak in that matter

Natha. C. Byfield Speaker

8th June 1698/. Resolved a concurrence in Council — Referred unto the next Sesion J. S. Addington Secry. of ye Court. The Town to have Notice

Here, it seems, legislative record of the petition is lost, but the records of Muddy River, after a lapse of some eleven years, commence again in 1697, and it seems plain that until the cor-

porate status was finally secured in 1705, some of the actual benefits requested in 1698, and temporarily secured in 1686, were in fact enjoyed. Three men, in 1698 for the first time called 'Select men,' were regularly chosen to manage the affairs of the hamlet; a town clerk, surveyors of highways, fence-viewers, tithingmen, and constables were selected each year by the inhabitants, and the school continued to be maintained.

Much of this may have been done by the hamlet for a long time; probably the order of 1669 regarding the local choice of constables had required some kind of town meeting for the purpose. But the practice had been extended to include all of the important officers as well as matters of local policy, and despite official discouragement, Muddy River exercised a wide latitude in regulating its own affairs.

It seems fairly clear, therefore, that the General Court postponed consideration of the petition, and that the Boston-Muddy River relationship from 1689 on was in the nature of an informal *modus vivendi*, or tacit working agreement, based partly on town orders and partly on unexpressed consent, that kept both parties marking time while awaiting the next step. Certainly, if the petition was not passed upon before 1700, it had entered the limbo of forgotten bills, for on March 11 of the first year of the new century, the hamlet once again opened negotiations with Boston that promised a complete departure in the relations of the two communities.

INDEPENDENCE DENIED

The situation was still unsatisfactory. Muddy River had carried on an almost unremitting struggle for a long time, and had made substantial if precarious gains. But the element of subordination continued to exist; there remained the potential if not very real threat of interference from Boston, and local aspirations had undoubtedly been aroused that were not to be appeased until complete freedom was secured.

Boston, for her part, probably felt with some justice that many concessions had already been made to the importunity of her restless suburb, and that further demands at this time indicated scant consideration for what the larger settlement

regarded as the general welfare of the community. After all, the handwriting on the wall was pretty plain; concessions to Dorchester, Newton, Cambridge, and Braintree had cost heavily in citizens and territory, and Rumney Marsh gave every evidence of following the lead of Muddy River. Was the town of Boston to be narrowly confined to the water-bound shores of the peninsula? It was a prospect not to be contemplated with equanimity.

This situation was faced in the March meeting of 1701. The residents of Boston plainly thought that the period of compromise and conciliation had passed, and in the presence of a reasoned plea for independence from Muddy River, were prepared not only to rebuke the petitioners, but to penalize their effrontery as well.

The request at this time was phrased in language as devoid of compromise as the Bostonians' own had been — bluntly, 'To be a District or Hamlet Separate from the Town.' The reasons offered all hinged on remoteness from the peninsula, a condition which was said to make it impossible for citizens of the area to enjoy the municipal advantage on anything like equality with the inhabitants of the town proper, particularly in the matter of schools, poor relief, and highways.

It was futile to point out, as Boston did, that these matters had been administered for years by the precinct with a very large amount of local autonomy. While this was an answer to the petition, the *fact* of subordination was the real grievance. There was a sense of exploitation to the advantage of their large neighbor without commensurate returns. It is true that the complaint itself gives no positive evidence of this; it says, colloquially, 'We are not getting our money's worth.' But the true relation had been painfully evident on two acute occasions, the rejection of the petition of 1686 and the 'reannexation' of 1690, both of which had probably left a measure of rancor that far outweighed any administrative grievance or speculative financial loss that may have been suffered.

Whatever the feeling underlying the relation, the petition was read and debate followed. Little sympathy was accorded the request, for the vote was in the negative, with this sanction attached:

That tho' they had not for some years been Rated in the Town rate yet for the time to come the Selectmen Should rate them in the Town Tax as the other Inhabitants & as formerly they used to be.

In view of the fact that much of the complaint centered about a school within the area, Boston ordered the selectmen to provide a schoolmaster whose salary should be paid out of the Boston town treasury.

The program, at this point, becomes quite clear; on the one hand to discourage further petitions by a rebuke and a penalty, and on the other, to remove at once the principal cause of grievance and strongest argument of the petitioners by supplying a schoolmaster at Boston's expense. On the whole it would seem to be excellent strategy, but it was immediately followed by unexpected repercussions.

'Some of the Inhabitants of the North end of the Town' at once demanded equal school privileges with Muddy River, and upon the request's being granted, the citizens of Rumney Marsh, 'standing by and seeing the Town in so good a frame,' likewise sought, and received, the promise of a free school, provided a suitable number of children could be had. Corporate Boston was certainly on a shifting foundation that required an increasing amount of political ingenuity to stabilize.

FURTHER PETITIONS

But nothing appears to have happened until about four years later. Just what caused the delay is not clear, but the next step, as in 1686, was logically an appeal to the colonial government, and it is quite likely that the moment was not propitious.

Acting Governor William Stoughton had retired in July, 1700, and for a year the colony had no chief magistrate. Then in June, 1702, Joseph Dudley, after a varied career abroad, was appointed to the office. Here was an executive who, despite his wide unpopularity, had proved sympathetic fourteen years before, and who might conceivably be depended upon to lend his support to further demands. Moreover, Samuel Sewall, son of Chief Justice Sewall who was a member of the Council, was himself both clerk of the hamlet and son-in-

law of the Governor — a circumstance possibly of some importance.

At all events, in June of 1704, eight of Muddy River's leading citizens joined in a third petition to colonial authority, once again setting forth their aspirations. As before, they cited their successful requests of 1686, emphasized that their community had consistently maintained a school since that time, and asserted that, having arrived at a point of development more stable than ever, they now desired the privilege of having their own selectmen, the full rights of a township, and a 'minister and other benefits amongst us.'

The petition was read in the Council meeting of June 17, 1704, and an order entered to the effect that the selectmen of Boston be notified of an opportunity to be heard at the next meeting of the General Court. But Boston seems to have taken no action, and the Council on November 1, 1704, ordered the selectmen of that town to attend its meeting of Saturday morning, November 4. However, this hearing was postponed, and it was not until March 12, 1705, that the town meeting appointed a committee of five to draw up an answer to the General Court in the matter of the Muddy River petition.

Meanwhile the petitioners, somewhat irked, had addressed another appeal to the Governor, Council, and Assembly, reminding them of the fact that there had been no formal objection made by the town of Boston. Hence, assuming 'that there is no Obstruction to our humble request,' they again begged that the proper legislative steps be taken to give Muddy River its desired freedom.

OBJECTIONS FROM BOSTON

By the summer of 1705, the 'Town' committee had made its report, and the general tone was one of mingled condescension and reproof. Observing that several sessions of the General Court had already passed since the time originally set for the hearing, and that the matter appeared therefore to have been dropped — a notably specious suggestion — the committee hinted nevertheless at the possibility of revival through a 'new petition or order.' In view of this, they said, it seemed proper to protect the town from any further embarrassment by pre-

senting the General Court with a brief statement of the unsoundness of the Muddy River demands.

To this effect it was related that

they have been hitherto supported by the Town while they were not able themselves to defray their necessary public Charges many of which might be enumerated, and the town Charges, now increasing with us, and the body of ye town abounding with poor & such as are not capable to defray but rather greatly increase the Charge; for the Inhabitants of Muddy River at such a time & being themselves now grown more oppulent and capable to be helpful to ye town, to be sent from us seems most unreasonable, & in them very ingrateful, and may be a bad example to others to endeavor the like, & to cutt the Town into such shreds as will best suit themselves without any due regard to ye publick Interest; the Charge of the Road upon the Neck is great & is still growing & ye Petitioners & Inhabitants of Muddy River have had more benefit & do more to increase the Charge of that way, than all the rest of the town. Several other things might be instanced which the Select men are well acquainted with, and we think they ought (if the General Court see cause to proceed on the Petition) to pray to be heard therein.

This reply was read in Council on June 15, 1705, and ordered to be heard before the Court on the following Tuesday, June 19. But the time again 'slipt,' and it was June 22 before the hearing was held, and the selectmen of Boston, having been notified, again came forward to answer. This time, however, the rejoinder is a far more studied document, quite different from the somewhat perfunctory response of a few days before.

It represented a final stand, a complete case beyond which there was nothing more to say; and it was a summary of the pent-up grievances of many years. In particular, the first paragraph provided an important historical commentary on the relation of hamlet and town for a generation preceding the separation. It called attention to the numerous concessions that Boston had made, and emphasized the large degree of autonomy that the hamlet had enjoyed. Its freedom from the support of the ministry, its release from the unwelcome service of 'Watchings and Wardings,' the constant nomination of its

own officers subject only to the usual confirmation of the 'Town,' its free school, and its very moderate taxes — all these bespoke a condition that seemed to reflect credit on the generosity and consideration of the parent community.

With little alteration or addition, this document proceeded to restate the complaints made in the former remonstrance, and in the third and final paragraph introduced a new argument and elaborated an old one. If separation were allowed, it was said, some five hundred acres of common land belonging to Boston within the area of Muddy River would be lost to the 'Town.' Also, further territorial losses, examples of which were freely offered, would confine Boston to the 'Isthmus of a mile long which was never thought sufficient bounds for a Township,' much less for a community that had become the center of so many burdens and so much distress as Boston.

MORE THAN THEY ASKED

But it was of no avail, and after an unexplained interval of five months, the petition passed the Council on November 13, 1705. Muddy River, in consequence of a generation of consistent agitation, became the town of 'Brooklyn':

In Council

The Order passed by the Representatives upon the petition of the Inhabitants of Muddy River a Hamlet of Boston, read on Saturday last;

ORDERED That the Prayer of the Petition be granted, And the Powers and Privileges of a Township be given to the Inhabitants of the Land commonly known by the Name of Muddy River, The Town to be called Brooklyn, Who are hereby enjoined to build a Meeting-House & obtain an able orthodox Minister according to the Direction of the Law to be Settled among them within the Space of Three Years next coming, PROVIDED, That all Common Lands belonging to the Town of Boston lying within the Bounds of the said Muddy River not disposed of or Allotted out shall still remain to the Proprietors of the said Lands: —

Which Order being Read again, was Concurd: — And is Consented to;

J. Dudley.

There remain two significant points in this development that are best settled here, so far as they can be settled at all. An examination of the successive petitions presented by Muddy River in 1698, 1701, 1704, and 1705, shows that in no place is it definitely asked that the hamlet be made a town, and in only one instance is the word 'township' mentioned in this connection.

The petition of 1698 asks confirmation of the grant of 1686, with some additional powers, but mentions no corporate change. The petition of 1701 as cited by the town meeting of Boston is a request to be a 'District or Hamlet separate from the Town.' In 1704 the demand is for 'a separate Village to have Selectmen, and all other rights belonging to a Township'; and the final petition of 1705 asks that the petitioners be allowed to become 'a Separate Village or peculiar.' The grant of November 11, 1705, however, brushed aside this medley of terms and invested the community with 'the Powers and Privileges of a Township... The Town to be called Brooklyn.'

THE REAL REASONS

Now it seems hardly possible that the framers of these numerous petitions could be unaware of such discrepancies, nor does it seem more probable that they were so careless or ignorant of local terminology as to attempt to indicate their desires by unsuitable terms. 'Town' was a well understood designation, and although the authority of the Massachusetts Bay Company, itself a corporation, to charter communities had been closely questioned during the Dudley-Andros régime, towns were recognized municipal corporations. They were vested with all privileges of local government known to the law, as well as the right of full representation in the General Court.

From the history of the movement it appears plain that what the inhabitants of Muddy River wanted above all else was not a free school (which they had), nor an orthodox church (for two were available, and widely used), nor representation in the General Court (an expensive undertaking with remote benefits), but freedom from the Boston tax collector. And it is quite plain that while Boston was ready to grant, and did grant, almost all of the powers usually associated with self-

government, she would not relinquish this point. On the part of Muddy River the whole movement arose from the desire to determine, and thereby to conserve, her public levies; and while some increase in total assessment must have been anticipated, the petitioners were probably eager to restrict other expenditures and effort to those matters strictly necessary to the welfare of their own area.

Town government was known to be expensive. It entailed very definite responsibilities under the law, including a school, a church, and representation in the General Court. The close of the charter period had marked, moreover, a great accumulation of legislation affecting towns; some thirty-three orders, penalties, and permissive regulations were directed to the township, while some sixty others enlarged or facilitated the duties of the selectmen.

It may well have been that some of the petitioners were unwilling to bind Muddy River to such responsibilities, and while they sought a status that would give freedom from the unwelcome connection with Boston, looked for a middle course that would not engulf them in political commitments possibly difficult to fulfill. It is significant that even after incorporation was granted, nine years passed before a church was established and a meeting-house built, six before a change was made in the school situation, and five before a representative was sent to the General Court. In fact, for fifteen years the town was represented only four times, and on several occasions flatly refused to choose a delegate.

But by the order of November, 1705, they were immediately free from financial liabilities to Boston, and at their first town meeting the only new officer to appear on the list is the assessor, who maintains his position with unremitting regularity. If Muddy River really wanted a full corporate status, it was either unable or unwilling to make complete use of it when it was secured.

'WEASEL WORDS'

On the contrary, the petitioners had asked to become a hamlet, village, district, or peculiar, but always 'separate from the town of Boston.' Hamlets or villages have never had corporate

significance in Massachusetts. A hamlet appears to have been a small place with social and economic solidarity, usually within the bounds of another community. Village, almost identical in meaning, gradually displaced the former term in general use.

Municipal organization within the colony was in a rapidly formative state, and the situation that Muddy River exemplified was becoming typical of many communities. Usually on account of their remoteness, they desired a semi-corporate status to supply certain limited services; and this status was finally settled by the middle of the eighteenth century, under titles depending upon the type or extent of service required, such as plantation, district, peculiar, precinct, or parish.

The political features that distinguished these areas are not wholly clear. Even in the early days of the colony, gradations had been recognized, and groups of loosely organized individuals had been accorded special and limited privileges under the title of 'plantations,' but the practice was later extended to include other forms, among which were the district, precinct, or parish, and peculiar. The district was identical with the town except that it sent no representative to the General Court. The term 'precinct' served many purposes, being synonymous sometimes with district, sometimes with parish, sometimes with peculiar, and gradually dropping out of use in the eighteenth century, until it came to its own again in the nineteenth century as an electoral subdivision of a town. The term 'peculiar' was of especial interest; in English ecclesiastical law it denoted a parish or church independent of the ordinary but subject only to the metropolitan, a condition that may have accounted for its appearance in America. Like the plantation, it seems to have been largely used in this country to assure the taxation of isolated individuals and groups not under any local jurisdiction.

When the real significance of these terms is understood, the haphazard element in the Muddy River petitions is somewhat reduced. It is quite likely that any of these forms would have satisfied the aims for which the citizens of the hamlet were striving — that is, freedom from Boston, and in particular also freedom from too great additional burdens.

The selectmen of Boston, on the contrary, are at pains to insist in their answers that the petitioners wish to become 'a town by themselves,' and hint at both their 'inability' to undertake such burdens and their insincerity in requesting an 'orthodox minister,' obviously arguments in defense of their whole position. It may be that the petitioners felt the force of such a view and attempted to meet it by their demands for partial independence, as indicated in the special terms they used. It is true that on one occasion they asked for selectmen and 'all other rights belonging to a Township,' but the final petition again falls back on the lesser terms of 'village or peculiar.'

What happened in between it is impossible to say. The fact is that Muddy River became formally a town in the full sense of the term, but that for some time it in fact corresponded more to the semi-corporate unit that it had so frequently asked to become. There are many conclusions that could be drawn from such circumstances, but few would go beyond surmise. The obvious fact is that the petitioners from Muddy River were shrewd men, accustomed to ask for what they wanted. If they received a little more, few will deny that they turned it to good account.

THE NAME OF BROOKLINE

A point that has caused even more discussion than the preceding pertains to the origin of the name of Brookline, a matter that seems more susceptible of satisfactory decision. If the area ever had an Indian name, it is not known. Whether in primeval days it was a part of Nonantum, now Newton, or Shawmut, now Boston, has never been determined. The first extant notice, that in Winthrop's *Journal* telling of the 'ten Sagamores and many Indians assembled at Muddy River,' gives the title that was officially maintained for seventy-three years.

There can be little doubt, however, as to the origin of the name 'Brookline.' Through his marriage with Hannah Hull, Judge Samuel Sewall had obtained the large estate of his father-in-law in Muddy River. This land extended irregularly from Harvard Street to the Charles River, northwest to the Cambridge line, and was probably tillable southeast to

the old Cedar Swamp. The swamp seems originally to have drained into the Charles through a small brook that formed the boundary between meadow and swampland of the Sewall estate. To the arable parts of this area Judge Sewall very early gave the name of 'Brookline.'

In a proposal for the division of the estate of John Hull (March 13, 1684) between his widow Judith, and Samuel Sewall and his wife Hannah, there is this description:

All the Lands lying at muddy River within ye Limit of Boston with ye houseing, barns buildings and fence thereupon. Vizt. Brookline Lands (so called) in ye present tenure and Occupation of Simon Gates, — Swampline Lands in ye Tenure and Occupation of George Barsto, and Hoggs-cote Lands in the Tenure and occupation of Andrew Gardner.

Here is perhaps the earliest use of the term 'Brookline' in connection with the Muddy River region. It will be noticed that the spelling is *Brookline*, and could hardly have been pronounced *Brooklyn*. It is, moreover, contrasted with another kind of land called 'Swampline,' and appears therefore to have been used as a descriptive term to designate different parts of the same holdings: that is, on the one hand, the arable farm lands bounded on the northwest by Smelt Brook, and on the southeast by the Cedar Swamp and a slender tributary of the Charles; and on the other, swamp lands beyond the Cedar Swamp in the general direction of Sewall's Point.

It is merely surmise, but the possibility occurs that those who, in early records, wrote the name *Brooklyn* may have done so with the notion that it described 'brook-lying' lands. This interpretation would be in consonance with 'swamp-lying' lands, and the irregular orthography of the times would excuse much. And surely, though a brook might mark a *line*, a swamp could not.

Judge Sewall himself gives the next reference to the term. In his *Diary* under date of June 20, 1687, he writes: 'Went to Muddy-River with Mr. Gore and Eliot to take a plot of Brooklin'; and two days later he elaborates the incident. 'Went to Muddy River, Mr. Gore finishes compassing the Land with his plain Table: I do it chiefly that I may know my own, it

lies in so many nooks and corners.' It seems plain, however, that these references are to the farm and not to the area as a whole. Indeed, throughout the *Diary*, until 1705, the term Muddy River is used to describe Sewall's many visits to the hamlet, and while one or two entries might permit some doubt as to the exact application of the term, they are certainly far from conclusive evidence that a substitution had already been made for Muddy River.

Dr. Pierce, in his *Address at the Opening of the Town Hall* in 1845, went into the matter with customary thoroughness, and through correspondence with the great-great-grandson of Judge Sewall, who possessed many of his ancestor's private papers, gleaned the information

that Brookline borrowed its name from one of the farms within its bounds, namely, the Gates farm, hired of Judge Sewall, which was probably called Brookline from the circumstance, that Smelt-brook, running through it, was the line of division between that and one of the neighboring farms.... This accounts for the name being often mentioned by the Judge, in his *Journal*, before Brookline was incorporated; and, as he was a large land-holder in the place, and a member of the Council, at the time of its incorporation, it seems likely that it might have been submitted to him to furnish the name for the new Town; and that he gave it this of Brookline, which had been for years familiar to him, as the name of a farm within its precincts, and likewise a very good name for the purpose designed.

There can therefore be no doubt as to the origin of the term in connection with Judge Sewall's farm. There seems to be no direct evidence that he actually applied the name to Muddy River, but the circumstances point strongly to that conclusion.

CHAPTER V

PROBLEMS OF TOWN GOVERNMENT

NEW ADMINISTRATIVE TASKS

WHEN distance is translated in terms of time, the Brookline of 1705 was inconveniently distant from Boston for many purposes. Awareness of that, as we have seen, had induced the citizens of Boston to acquiesce in the choosing by the people of Muddy River of their own local officers.

Now, as the newly created Brookline, those people faced a much larger problem. They were obliged, of course, to set up a more extensive frame of local government. First of all — indeed, it was supposed to be a prerequisite to the establishment of the town — they were required to settle an orthodox minister in their midst, and to erect a meeting-house.

There were schools to be provided, highways to be created and maintained, and the poor to be cared for. There must be a system of assessment of properties and collection of taxes.

An obligation was assumed to the larger community of the province. Participation was expected, with other towns, in the Great and General Court. A quota of men and munitions must be made available for the public defense.

The men of Brookline were familiar, of course, with the workings of this mechanism of government. Now, for the first time, they undertook to operate it in its entirety on their own account.

Perhaps it may be possible to attain some semblance of logical approach in examining some of their problems with them. The last phrase is used deliberately, for in the pages of the town records of a century or two ago, it is easy to find oneself picturing the scenes in the meetings where town affairs were deliberated. Between the terse lines of the written resolutions, one may read the long, earnest debates of those who strove to persuade their fellows for the good of the community.

That the labors of these citizens were, with the rarest exception, unselfish and sincere there is little room to doubt. The

spirit of their meetings and the soundness of their common conclusions are proof that here were men above the modern average in shrewdness and practicality and devotion to the public welfare. If our American experience of democracy on a vast nation-wide scale has proved disillusioning to recent generations, we may reflect that it was a different thing when the country was small, and its youth made men eager to preserve it and win for it dignity and honor. And in the scheme of town government which Brookline has relied upon with conspicuous success for two centuries and a quarter, we may find proof that on a suitable scale that system is still unsurpassed.

MINISTER AND MEETING-HOUSE

Provision for public worship deserves first consideration here, both because it was the first thing the new town was bound to attend to, and because the subject is accorded a far greater portion of the public records between 1705 and 1820 than any three or four other matters put together. The order of the General Court of November 13, 1705, allowed three years for the building of a meeting-house and the settling of a minister. But the first town meeting, March 4, 1706, decided not to do anything about it right away. At a meeting held November 28, 1709, they voted to think about the matter a little longer, and come to some conclusion the following March.¹

However, it was June of 1712 before three men were 'chosen and appointed to surveigh the limits of this town and find the center or middle thereof and to inquire where a Convenient Place may be Procured whereon to build a meeting-house; as neare the center of said Town as may be.' A year and a half later Caleb Gardner offered to give to the town 'a piece of Land nigh to his dwelling House, Lyeing west ward therefrom on the left hand of the Road way Leading to Roxbury, where on to build a Meeting house for the Publick worship of God.' Lieutenant Thomas Gardner, Lieutenant Samuel Aspinwall,

¹ March meeting, it should be understood, was everywhere the regular, annual meeting of the towns, for by the reckoning then in general use March 25 was the beginning of the new year, for which budgets were made and plans laid out. When the calendar change was belatedly made in English-speaking lands there were those who continued by the old style, and others who began the new year on January 1. In consequence, dates between January 1 and March 25 *might* belong to either year; hence the form, 'March 4, 1705.'

Erosamon Drew, Thomas Stedman, and John Sever were appointed to look after the construction of the building. Its frame was raised November 10, 1714, on a site almost opposite where Pierce Hall stands today.

Thus Brookline was more than six years late in fulfilling one of the supposed prerequisites to its creation as a town. True, permission had been obtained to delay erection of the building, but this was from lack of money rather than lack of desire to go ahead.

Meanwhile the residents of Muddy River had gone to worship with the First Religious Society in Roxbury. When Roxbury erected a new meeting-house in 1674 people of Muddy River contributed £104 5s. and were allotted a fifth of the seats. At the same time, Lieutenant Thomas Gardner, Sergeant Benjamin White, and John Winchester were formally invited to help 'seat the meeting house.'

Church and government were closely interlocked in Massachusetts in those days; the parish and the town were identical in their limits; erection of the meeting-house was a public concern, as was also the selection of a minister, chosen by the church but approved and paid by the town. Thus a levy of £115, voted on March 1, 1714, was the first move to raise funds for the meeting-house. That this probably involved drastic economies appears from the vote of May 14 to petition the General Court to excuse the inhabitants from sending a representative that year 'upon the Acc't of their Building a Meeting House and the Great charges thereof for such a Poor Little Town.' The same device was employed in many subsequent years.

At March meeting in 1715 another hundred pounds were voted toward finishing the meeting-house, and in May a committee was appointed to supervise that work, with very specific instructions as to how it should be done. Another committee was directed to get a deed for the land from Caleb Gardner, the construction apparently having been started without the preliminary of that formality. Gardner's 'gift' seems to have been qualified, for the price is now stated to be £15 18s.

William Henry Lyon, who came as minister in 1896, has described the structure thus:



HOUSE OF EROSAMON DREW, 1693-1873

Drew owned the saw mill on Palmer's Brook where it crossed Newton Street near the Newton line

It was a modest affair — forty-four by thirty-five feet, with fourteen pews and several long benches on the floor and more benches for the children in the galleries, which extended around three sides. In the middle of the fourth side stood the pulpit, with an hour-glass upon it and a huge sounding-board over it. There was a door opposite the pulpit, in the side toward the road, and one in each end. When the steeple was added in 1771 it stood on the upper end. An interesting question arises when we find that there were only 66 seats in the meeting-house, while in 1700 there were 360 inhabitants in the town. Allowing liberally for children, sick and aged, there seems to have been a larger proportion of non-attending population than today [1898].

The spirit of economy raised its long head in the town meeting of October 31, 1715, 'a Demurr being raised among the inhabitants... Concerning the cost and manner of the Dinner that was Provided att the Raising of the meeting House,' but both were formally approved. In November completion of the building was urged, and on March 12, 1716, a committee was chosen to decide which inhabitants should be entitled to buy spaces for the erection of their own pews. These were to be owned outright, but if an owner moved from the town, or was unable to pay his taxes, the pew was to revert to the town to be sold again, the original owner receiving back his payment for the 'pew spot' and the cost of building the pew. All who were allotted spaces by the committee accepted them at the prices fixed, except Joseph White and Lieutenant Thomas Gardner, who either felt themselves discriminated against as to location, or thought the committee's price too high. Gardner was later reported satisfied.

THE FIRST MINISTER

Perhaps because their religious affiliations had been principally with Roxbury, it was natural for the First Parish in Brookline to ask the Reverend Nehemiah Walter of Roxbury to preach the first sermon in their new meeting-house, and to choose James Allen, also of Roxbury, for their first settled minister. A town meeting of December 10, 1716, voted to give Mr. Allen one hundred pounds 'gratuity for settlement' —

probably a kind of bonus to cover the cost of moving over to Brookline — and an annual salary of eighty pounds. The following February this was confirmed, and a committee was sent over to see how the proposal appealed to Mr. Allen. He said he would come, but thought the town ought to supply his firewood. Ten cords a year being promised, a satisfactory agreement was finally reached.

James Allen was ordained November 5, 1718, and served nearly thirty years, until his death in 1747. His salary was not large, even for those times, and year after year the town voted him extra contributions to make up his domestic deficits. It was probably a gesture of generosity that, in June of 1718, gave him 'all the Strangers money delivered into ye contribution Box both for ye time past & to come.' This was too good to be true, and less than two years later the inhabitants thought that anything outsiders contributed to the church could be put to better use. Accordingly they 'Voted yt ye Strangers & over-plus money yt is brought in by way of contribution shall be brought to ye Town Treasurer for ye Towns use.'

One suspects that it was a town clerk to whom the thought of the minister suggested psalms or the psaltery, who recorded the vote of 1732 'To Give the Reverend Mr. James Allin forty pounds over and above his Stated psallery for the present year.' It was a vote many times repeated. In 1739 it was forty pounds 'and four contributions...' In 1743 it was fifty pounds and four contributions; in 1744, sixty pounds; in 1746, 'Eighty pounds old Tenuer.' There is continuous evidence of an intention to care adequately for the minister, and protect him from the burden of increased living costs or other special expense. Thus, in 1741 it was 'Voted it be the minds of the Town to pay the Town Rates in manufactory money Exclusive of Mr. Allins Money.'

Finally, on March 2, 1747, it was 'Voted that the Town will Raise Sixty Pounds towards Defreying the Charge of the Funierall of the Reverend Mr. Allin Deceased.' Later that month one hundred and fifty pounds were appropriated 'for to Procure Preaching,' and in October two hundred pounds more. At the same time Samuel White, Major White, Captain Sharp, Isaac Gardner, and Thomas Aspinwall were made a committee to obtain ministers until the following March.

PRESTIGE IN WORSHIP

Before continuing with the account of how the pulpit was again filled, it may be appropriate to consider something of the formalities of the use of the meeting-house. Locations for the pews, as has been explained, were sold outright. To be entitled to buy one was regarded a privilege, accorded only to those of recognized standing in the community.

Sometimes a committee allotted the 'pew spots' at fixed prices, subject to acceptance by those to whom they were offered. Sometimes the spaces were sold at auction to the highest bidder. From time to time, as the demand for pews became increasingly pressing, encroachments were permitted upon the 'body seats,' and eventually the stairways to the men's and women's galleries were moved so that more pews could be built.

In April of 1785 it was 'Voted to sell the whole of the Bodie Seats in the Meeting house for pew Spots, and that Sd Seats be Sold at Vendue to the highest Bidder, on next May Meeting Day,' but the matter was apparently neglected, for nothing seems to have been done about it, and on April 1, 1793, eight years later, it was voted 'not to sell the whole of the Body seats in the Meeting House to Build Pews on.' Provision was made for the sale of half of the seats as pew spaces, to the highest bidders, the money to be applied to the erection of a school house in the middle of the town. Therein is evidence of the intimate relationship between church and town, their separate treasuries being, as it were, but two pockets in the same pair of trousers.

Reconsideration of the plan to have only pews in the meeting-house must have been the result of some objection from those who would, by such a program, have been virtually excluded from the meeting. Except that the list of names would provide very dull reading, there might be reproduced here the description of the seating of the meeting-house on March 9, 1719.¹ Perhaps it is enough to explain that every member of the parish was assigned a specific seat, the men according to their dignity and standing in the community, and the women according to

¹ To be found in *The First Parish in Brookline: An Historical Sketch* [by William H. Lyon]; Brookline, Riverdale Press, 1898; pp. 9-10.

their husbands. Those who did not occupy family pews were divided according to sex, the women's 'body seats' being on one side of the central aisle, and the men's on the other. There were men's and women's galleries, too, for those whose rank did not deserve space on the floor.

Tithingmen, who maintained order in meeting, were elected by the town. Their duties were presumably not very onerous; they were provided with long wands to awaken those made drowsy by hour-long sermons, and to threaten children whose conduct was indecorous.

Probably these officers had almost nothing to do in the winter, when one suspects that the congregation must have been reduced to a kind of gelid lethargy in the unheated building. In 1818 the town gave permission for the erection of stoves in the meeting-house, but for a century things must have been uncomfortable indeed, and a hot brick or soapstone little solace.

Nevertheless, the sermons were as long as ever, and custom dictated that children should be baptized on the first Sunday following their birth. Judge Sewall's diary records a winter Sunday thus: 'Extraordinary Cold Storm of Wind and Snow. Bread was frozen at Lord's Table. Though 'twas so cold John Tuckerman was baptized. At six o'clock my ink freezing so that I can hardly write by a good fire.' Stories of christenings when the ice had to be broken in the font are not mere fiction, after all.

CHOOSING A GOSPEL MINISTER

It was such a church that the Reverend James Allen had served thirty years for a salary of some four hundred dollars (worth perhaps twice as much now), ten cords of firewood, and varying additional contributions. Upon his death, there was a long examination of potentially suitable young men, and at length his daughter's fiancé, Cotton Brown of Haverhill, was chosen by the church. The proceedings of the church meeting find a place among the town records, and are followed by the account of the town meeting of February 29, 1748, which concurred with the choice of the church, and voted 'To Give Mr. Cotton Brown five hundred pounds a year old Tenour

according to Indian Corn att Twenty Shillings pr. Bushel and Rye att twenty five shillings pr. Bushel and Pork att two shillings pr. pound and Beefe att one shilling and Six pence pr. pound.' He was also to be offered six hundred pounds 'old Tenour towards his Settlement.'

The matter of 'old tenor' money comes up so frequently that some explanation of its nature is due. The colony had issued notes to meet emergency expenditures late in the sixteenth hundreds and had redeemed them promptly through taxation. This method of raising funds seemed so easy that it became highly popular, and the determination of the General Court to emit such bills as freely as they wanted to, without making adequate provision for their redemption, was a source of great distress to the royal governors.

Paper money consequently became much depreciated in value. In 1704 a royal proclamation had fixed the worth of an ounce of silver at seven shillings. In 1712 it cost eight shillings in Massachusetts bills; in 1720, twelve shillings; in 1725, sixteen shillings; and in 1735, twenty-seven shillings. Food costs rose approximately five-fold between 1712 and 1740, but the increase in wages was only about half that much, and persons dependent on salaries or money at interest suffered severely.

An effort to remedy the situation was made with the passage of legislation providing for the issuance of twenty-shilling notes, of the value of three ounces of coined silver. These were new tenor bills, which it was ordered should circulate at the rate of one for three of the old tenor. The remedy was far from effectual, but it established the term 'old tenor' as applied to the earlier unredeemed bills.

Thus it was neither greed nor an excessive notion of the value of his services that induced Cotton Brown to tell the town's committee that he would like four hundred pounds more for his settlement. This was at first refused, but upon reconsideration allowed, and the assessors were to be a committee with Mr. Brown 'Annually To Determine the Rise and fall of his Sallary.'

Cotton Brown, however, died in 1751, and the town meeting again went about the business of appropriating money and appointing a committee to supply the pulpit. In December of

that year Samuel Haven was approved, and an offer made him, but it was evidently not sufficiently attractive to him. The selectmen kept providing preachers, and in January of 1753 a proposal was made to Stephen Badger, which also went unaccepted. Then in October, Roger Rogerson was promised £133 6s. 8d. for his settlement, and £80 a year (in 'lawful money,' of course, as distinguished from the inflated 'old tenor'), and came for a little more than one year.

William Henry Lyon says Rogerson was the victim of idle gossip which intimated that, because he had been born abroad, his early life was too little known. He subsequently served forty successful years in Reheboth as minister.

In 1755 Nathaniel Potter was brought from Elizabeth, New Jersey, on the same terms that had been offered Roger Rogerson. His service, too, was brief — less than four years. The beloved Dr. Pierce, a later minister, wrote:

Mark now the inconsistencies into which short-sighted mortals sometimes fall. Those very people, who objected to the candidate just mentioned [Rogerson], proceeded suddenly to give a call to another [Potter], from a distance, without credentials, before they had even ascertained his christian name, whom they as abruptly settled, and who, though professedly orthodox in faith, was destined, during a short ministry, to give woful emphasis to the apostle's monition, 'Lay hands suddenly on no man.'

Mr. Potter did not prove satisfactory to the church, but the evidence is indirect. It appears rather in the refusal of the town meeting to increase his wood supply and give him additional money compensation. He appeared before a town meeting, and stated his grievances, and when he failed to carry his point, asked to be discharged. To this the town agreed, taking precautions to secure repayment of a part at least of his settlement money.

Next came Joseph Jackson to begin in 1760 his ministry of thirty-six years, which included the troubled period of the Revolutionary War. For many years there was an appropriation to make up his excess of expenses over income and when, after his death in 1796, the town opened negotiations with John Pierce (who like Mr. Jackson at the time of his calling was a

tutor at Cambridge), there was sound basis for the latter's confidence expressed in his reply:

From the kindness you as a town, have always discovered towards your ministers as well, as from the unanimity, which has marked all your proceedings respecting me, I trust you will ever make provision for my comfortable support so long as I shall continue to be your Minister.

That was to be for nearly fifty-three years, and John Pierce was consequently the last minister whose choice by the church was ratified by the town, for constitutional changes in 1833 separated the two.

There had been long discussions, and reconsiderations of votes, during Mr. Jackson's ministry, on the question of adding a steeple to the church, and on whether it should have a plain roof or a spire. In 1781 the town had assumed the additional responsibility of erecting a house for the minister, and a tax of two hundred pounds in silver was levied 'to be paid in Paper Money, Labour, Meterals, or any other Articles, Equal to Silver Money, in the Judgment of a Committee hereafter to be chosen...'

In sum, throughout the entire period covered by this chapter, the business of the established church in one ramification or another was far and away the principal business of the town meeting. But there were other matters scarcely less in importance, even if they consumed less time and public attention.

PROVISION FOR EDUCATION

Almost numberless resolutions were passed respecting schools, which at their best in the early years seem to have been haphazard institutions of doubtful value. There is no doubt, however, that the importance of elementary education was recognized from the beginning, for on March 29, 1686, the Boston town meeting read a communication from the inhabitants of Muddy River, asking for 'a writinge school for their children...' In December of the same year it was ordered that Muddy River should be relieved of payment of town rates to Boston, and should maintain its own highways, poor, and other public obligations, including a school to be erected

within a year. The Boston town meeting was at pains to make it clear that this did not amount to setting Muddy River apart as a separate hamlet. Indeed, when they asked separation in 1700, Boston in apparent pique ordered the selectmen to rate the Muddy River inhabitants as before, but promised to 'provide a schoolmaster for them, To teach their children to read, write & cypher & order his pay out of the Town Treasury.'

These preliminaries, however, antedate the proper period of this chapter. Despite the requirement of a meeting-house, schooling was in point of time ahead of religion in the new town of Brookline. Provision for education had been made as early as 1687 while the village was still Muddy River; and Brookline proper built its first school in 1713 on the Sherburne Road at what was then the center of the settlement. This was at the corner of the present Walnut and Warren Streets. The initial appropriation of Muddy River to maintain a schoolmaster was twelve pounds a year; the infant town of Brookline had, in 1706, provided twelve pounds to repair the school house and support the school, and the following year it was twenty pounds.

But such levies were not expected to meet the whole cost of the school, which was partly imposed upon the parents of those children who attended. Thus the villagers in their vote of 1687 had provided 'that the Remainder necessary to support the charges of the Master be laid equally upon the scholars heads save any persons that are poore to be abated in part or in whole...' In this way a public obligation was recognized while at the same time a special share of the burden was put upon those who would be most immediately benefited.

School teachers were meagerly rewarded, and the terms of school were short and irregular. A town meeting of May 14, 1711:

Agreed with Wm Story to keep School 3 months He beginning January 7th 17¹¹₂. Allowing 5:0:0 for his Services. Agreed with John Winchester jun'r For his man Ed Ruggles to keep School att the New School House 2 Months. He beginning January 23 Wednesday 17¹¹₂. Allowing for his Service 4:0:0.

Throughout the century and more following this, the records

of town meetings are replete with references to schools and education. There are almost annual provisions for the hiring of teachers, sometimes women, sometimes men. A numerous succession of programs for the construction of new school houses is to be found, the projects varying so from year to year that it is apparent most of them were abandoned before anything substantial was done.

While the town was still endeavoring to devise means of building a meeting-house, permission was given in 1713 to inhabitants of the south part of the town to erect a school house there at their own expense. Down to 1722 appropriations for school maintenance amounted to ten or fifteen pounds a year; then they rose to twenty-five pounds. And the following year the town was divided into three precincts, with two school trustees elected for each.

The town in 1727 'Voted two schoolmasters one at each school four months' and 'a dame for each school for eight months.' About this time there was a long confusion, and evident conflict of opinion, on whether to have three schools, or two, or only one. A plan might be approved at one meeting, and an appropriation made, only to be 'reconsidered' and canceled when, presumably, construction was already under way. Evidently public opinion sometimes effected a tacit agreement of the appointed committee to hold off until the vote could be rescinded.

By 1739 the appropriation for schools had increased to eighty pounds, but it must be remembered that the effects of currency inflation were being felt by then. In later years the appropriations for schools seem to have been incorporated in the general levy for town expenses, and what was laid out for education is not easy to ascertain. When the pressure for economy was strong, school might not be kept in summer. Thus the town in 1746 'Voted That the Select Men provide A School Master the Ensuing Winter to keep in the new School House from the first of November to the last of March,' and nothing was said about a dame for the summer. A meeting of May 21, 1766, 'Voted Whether the Town will continue the Keeping of the Grammar School and it Past in the Negative.'

A common, though perhaps not rigid, distinction in country

schools lay in the provision of men for the winter months and women for the summer as teachers. During the winter, the older boys and girls — almost exclusively boys in the early days — were comparatively free of duties at home. With a large room full of ungraded pupils before him, the teacher often faced a difficult dual problem of instruction and discipline, which a woman was thought ill-equipped to meet.

In the summer, however, the older boys were likely to be much needed as helpers on the farm, and only very small children could be spared for school. It was, therefore, a different school body that the 'dame' had to deal with, and one more likely to require motherly kindness than physical mastery.

SCHOOL DAYS

Nathaniel Goddard recorded his impressions of attending school in Brookline just before the Revolution,¹ in terms deserving quotation here:

I disliked the idea of going to a woman's school, and as one was kept in Brookline by a man we soon after left the woman's school and never went to one again. Our master proved to be but little better than our mistress, and we were obliged to walk about as far, the school being kept near the centre of the town. The distance was about a mile and a half, and we had to break the paths through the snow, for no public road came within half a mile of the house. Sometimes we had masters from Cambridge, and sometimes we were taught by a Brookline farmer named Stephen Sharp, a good, honest, old-fashioned man who could read in the Bible and write 'joining hand,' and made us repeat anything that was beyond his comprehension in the spelling-book. When the Bible was read the scholars were arranged in a line, and sometimes filled the outer seats around the room. Each one read in succession, and afterwards the words were put to us to spell from the spelling-book, and anyone who missed was obliged to go to the bottom of the class. The master would sometimes favor one more than the other, and if the favorite put all the letters belonging in, he would let it pass for right, however they might be transposed. We had not much to complain of,

¹ *Nathaniel Goddard, A Boston Merchant*; Anonymous; Boston, Privately Printed, 1906; pp. 54-56.

however, as we were allowed but few days at school; one winter I kept count of the number — it amounted to sixty and a half. Some less favored boys did not visit the school ten times a year, and were never so fortunate as to learn the sound of the letters. The master classed them rather by their size than by their attainment. One boy, who probably did not know by sight a letter in the alphabet, was called upon to spell 'sugar'; he paused, not knowing what to say, but, being threatened with punishment if he did not speak, cried out 'c-r-o'; he was then told to spell 'for,' to which he replied 'l-e.' Under a master of whose judgment we may form some slight opinion by this account, I tried to get forward.

Discipline appears to have been attained, such as it was, by a system of terrorization in the case of many a teacher. Isaac Adams, who came first to Brookline as schoolmaster about 1815, was remembered by his pupils chiefly for the special ingenuity of his torments — the 'clapper' used for indiscriminate spanking, the split tree branches in which the ears and noses of the disorderly were inserted, the one-legged stools upon which girls were compelled to balance for hours in retribution for some supposed misconduct.

The youngest children, occupying the front bench, had no lesson in those days but to recite the alphabet each morning and afternoon. Meanwhile, throughout the long day, these infants of four to six years were supposed to sit quietly and attentively by. When one of them fell asleep one hot afternoon, the master quietly fastened his feet with a handkerchief and then loudly ordered him to come forward. In his haste the youngster fell crying on his face; and his sister was reprimanded for her sympathy.

Miss Harriet F. Woods, in her *Historical Sketches of Brookline*, discourses at length upon the schools of early days, her information and her comments reflecting her own long and happy career as a teacher. She declares that in the first schools, the Bible, Psalter, spelling book, and arithmetic were the only texts, and that not all of these were used at once. In addition to their studies, the boys were expected to attend to the school fires in winter, splitting the wood, and carrying coals each morning from the nearest neighbor's. A reasonable quota of

accidents and pranks were attendant upon this, naturally; and the incident is preserved of the lad who narrowly escaped disaster when he tried to split a green stump by blowing it up with gunpowder, as well as that of the altruistic youth who covered the chimney one night so that the stove smoked badly when a fire was kindled the next morning, and school had to be dismissed.

There is a story of a schoolmaster, too, that has not escaped repeated narration, but can hardly be omitted here. He is presumed to have been so addicted to his bottle that he carried it to school where he had occasional recourse to it. One day a pupil, lacking a proper sense of restraint, called out aloud to him in school that the bottle was sticking out of his pocket. This incident was too good not to be carried home by the others, and the selectmen, in their capacity as school committee, decided that they were called upon to speak to the master about his habits.

He was fortunate enough, however, to have a little warning of their arrival, and to be a reasonably quick-witted fellow. Accordingly he talked interestingly to them while a bowl of punch was prepared, contrived to treat each of them liberally to it, and then made it quite clear to them that they could scarcely criticize in him a habit which they were so ready to embrace themselves. They abandoned the original purpose of their visit, reminding one somehow of a certain bishop in one of Leonard Merrick's tales: 'To the Bishop of Westborough, any unpleasant truth was "one of those things that are better left undiscussed."' It was a phrase that suggested much earnestness of thought, while it saved him the necessity of thinking at all.'

At their best, the teachers were often little more than literate themselves, and their aptitude for imparting knowledge was probably not considered at all in hiring them, or was in any event secondary to their power of ruling the school. Some modern writer has made pleasant reference to our ancestors who were not so unlettered 'as to be able to spell their names in only one way,' and a century or two ago there was, it is true, considerable latitude in spelling even among the literate. George Washington, for example, was fascinatingly incon-

sistent. Still, one thinks a school teacher ought not to have perpetrated a bill which reads:

The Town of Brookline Depttor to Mary Bowen for Keeping School fore months from the seventh of June 1760, at twenty six shillings and Eaight pence per month. 5. 6. 8.

BETTER SCHOOLS]

Two types of growth aided the infant school system: the growth in the size of the village, and an ever increasing belief in the importance of at least elementary education for all children. In 1768 the town voted to help the south district build a school house, and in 1771 a committee was ordered to determine whether the old school house (on the Sherburne road) could be moved, or rebuilt on another more convenient location.

By January of 1781 there is evidence of serious crowding, for the town records state:

Whereas upwards of Fifty Children belonging to this Town daily attend at School, and a Number of others from the adjacent Towns have also been admitted there this season as usual for Several Years past, whereby the whole Number of Scholars is become so great that it cannot be expected the Schoolmaster can teach them all with any Probable prospect of advantage to the Scholars — therefore Voted that Mr. Isaac Reed the present Schoolmaster be directed not to permit the Children from any adjacent Town to come to School, while the number of Scholars belonging to this Town continues so large as to require all his attention to their Instruction.

Presumably it was pressure from within the town that led to an increase in facilities, for the March meeting of 1784 voted

that two Schools be kept by Suitable Masters, where they may best accommodate Each part of the Town, for the term of three Months in the Winter Season, and that a Suitable Master be Ingag'd to keep School the Other nine Months in the year in the School House in the middle of the Town, and that two Women Schools be kept where they will best Accommodate Each part of the Town for the Term of three Months in the Summer Season.

Again in 1789 the order went out to exclude pupils from adjoining towns, on the ground that the teacher in Brookline had all he could attend to. The next year Eleazer Baker, Major Moses White, and William Aspinwall were chosen a committee to prepare a plan for a school house and estimate the cost of its construction. On January 4, 1793, the town gratefully acknowledged a donation — the amount not stated — from William Hyslop toward construction of the new school. It was probably about midsummer of that year when the building commonly called 'the brick school house' was completed, opposite the present First Parish Church.

Used for town meetings for a dozen years, the school house was turned over to carpenter Peter Banner for the summer of 1805, to be used as a kind of temporary headquarters for construction of the new meeting-house on the adjoining property.

HIGHER EDUCATION

In 1797 the town as a whole, and its inhabitants, were solicited for a subscription of three thousand dollars to induce the location in Brookline of 'the County Academy.' The town was not ready to vote the money, but agreed to petition the General Court for the academy, if any citizen wanted to come forward. William Aspinwall accordingly offered land and a house, with the provision that if they were appraised at less than three thousand dollars, he would make up the difference in money. This proposal seems to have been laid before the General Court, but without results.

The high school was not to come until later, but according to the Reverend John Pierce, in his discourse on the centennial of the town in 1805, no less than twenty-six residents of Brookline had been educated at Harvard since the settlement of the community. Six of them had become ministers. The first was John White, of the class of 1698; and the second, also a minister, was Ebenezer Devotion, Harvard 1707.

THE HIGHWAYS

Another obvious need of the growing community was convenient access among its parts. From each isolated farm house

a track or lane would somehow find its way to the center of activity, and thence to every other isolated farm, but roads developed in such fashion by no means enjoyed the advantages of those laid out by public fiat. When the town acted as a whole, the property of individuals might be crossed as convenience directed, and provision made for the maintenance of the route in passable condition for the accommodation of all at the general expense.

The earliest activity in this direction is recorded on March 1, 1640, when 'William Colbron and Jacob Elyott are appointed to lay out the Highways at Muddy River towards Cambridge.' Eight months later the same individuals, with Peter Oliver, are directed to see to the building of a bridge at Muddy River. Then, on July 5, 1642, 'Wm. Tynge, Treasr. Wm. Colbron, and John Oliver are appointed to join with Dedham Cambridge and Watertown to lay out the highways from town to town through Boston lands at muddy river, as also to lay out more private wayes there with landing places or otherwise.'

How long the process of locating such highways took, does not appear, but it was probably in connection with this order that Robert Harris of Muddy River was allowed, in February, 1656, four acres 'outt of ye town waste land most convenient for him,' because two highways had been laid out across his property. That the project of 1642 was not fully carried out is hinted by a record of March 25, 1661, by which 'Peter Olliver & Peter Aspinwall are deputed to joyne with Cambridge men to lay outt a high way from muddy river to Cambridge.'

The practical necessity for highways was responsible for a great deal of activity in this direction, long before Muddy River became the town of Brookline. It would not be profitable to recite all this in detail, beyond explaining that the Boston town meeting often gave most explicit directions for the arrangement of ways, probably on the recommendation of Muddy River residents. The disposition to care for everyone's interests was apparent in the meeting of March 14, 1700, when, 'Upon the petition of Joseph Buckminster of muddi-river, for a committee to be chosen by the Town, to lay out a high way to his land, he having no highway thereto, by virtue of a Town order, That all proprietors of lots of land within the

town & precincts thereof wch have no highway layd out to their lands shall have a highway layd out thereto by a committee chosen and authorized by the sd Town for yt purpose,' such a committee was duly appointed to make a report. Everyone was to be entitled to a convenient way to market.

TO JOIN THE TOWN

Brookline was early conscious of a kind of natural sectionalism, such as arises from the development of subordinate centers of population within a community. Each chance clustering of homes was at once a part of the town and apart from it. This was a subdivision manifest in the debates over the location of schools, and now again in the arrangement of highways.

Thus at March meeting in 1714, it was 'Voted That it is thought Necessary that the South westerly End of the Town have a Way laid out for them by the sd Town.' On December 10, 1716, 'the town granted that the North end Inhabitants of sd Town of Brookline should have a more convenient way or road to the meeting house than at present they enjoy.'

Easy intercourse throughout the village was a matter of public concern, so it was voted in 1717 'that the New way laid out between Isaac Childs & Thos. Woodward [the present Clyde Street] be repaired & made feizable at the Town's cost.' Of still larger importance was the accessibility of Erosamon Drew's saw mill, which stood approximately where the present Newton Street crosses the Newton line. It was the objective of a number of roads, and the subject of frequent mention in the arrangement of new ones.

Rights of way were appropriated, of course, and the matter of compensation was left in the hands of the town meeting. On May 11, 1719, the 'inhabitants Generally assembled' to decide on the exact route by which the residents of the north end were to enjoy their more convenient means of getting to meeting. They chose a way to 'run from watertown Road across the Land of mr Thomas Cotton and so across the Land belonging to the children of Caleb Gardner late of Brooklyn into Sherbourn Road near to the Lower end of the new stone wall by an old white oak tree.' This was the New Lane which

later became Cypress Street. At March meeting in 1720 compensation of £20 was voted to Thomas Cotton on account of this road, but it was 'Voted not to allow to mr. Jon. Winchester forty pounds for ye way across the land belonging to ye Heirs of Caleb Gardner,' which he appears meanwhile to have purchased. This seems to have annoyed Mr. Winchester considerably, and he evidently pressed his claim at the adjournment of the March meeting on May 8, for there he was told to seek compensation at law if he thought he could get it.

More than one Winchester was difficult to get along with in the matter of roads. On May 13, 1723, a complaint was made to the town meeting that Josiah Winchester had put gates across a highway in the town. A committee was accordingly chosen to talk the matter over with him, and if they failed to persuade him, then to proceed according to law.

Responsibility for the maintenance of highways rested upon men annually elected for that purpose. Peter Aspinwall is the first surveyor of highways whose name appears upon the records; he was chosen for 1652. As the town expanded, and its network of roads, two surveyors were named, and then three, with the area divided into districts for easier administration. By 1816 the burden had become so great that a rearrangement was undertaken, which resulted in the establishment of four north districts, three middle districts, and two south districts.

The surveyors in charge were delegated not only to oversee the repair of the ways, but to look after the collection of road taxes, either paid in money or 'worked out.' In 1785 Joshua Boylston was slow in getting about his duties in this respect, and the town meeting took him to task for neglecting 'to warn and give the Inhabitants in that District opportunity to work out their Respecting Sums Set in the List committed unto him.' He was given two months in which to put the business in order.

The levy for highways in 1718 was twenty pounds; for some years after the middle of the century, eighty pounds was a common sum. In 1751, when the inflation was on, wages were fixed at twenty shillings for a man and the same amount for a team — old tenor. Forty years later, the rate was three

shillings for each. The standard day was eight hours, and the surveyors were warned to look out for loafers, and 'not to give credit to any persons for any more time than they work.'

As we enter the fourth decade of the twentieth century, we are accustomed to towns where through traffic is hampered because merchants believe that if all travelers are compelled to drive through the heart of the village, some measure of extra trade may result. This, it appears, is not peculiar to motoring days and tourist ways. The inhabitants of Brookline, on January 26, 1792, 'Voted that William Aspinwall Esq'r and the Selectmen be a Committee to Petition to the General Court in behalf of the Town against Building a Bridge from West Boston to Cambridge across Charles River.' There were to be no short cuts to divert traffic from Brookline.

CARING FOR THE POOR

Still another duty which fell upon the new community was that of caring for its own indigent citizens. Certain votes of the town on this account seem strangely harsh, yet they are not without counterparts even today, and their derivation from the English poor law is apparent enough. In old England, responsibility for the poor fell upon the parish, and there were, strangely enough, parishes so lost to a sense of honor that when they detected a family on the verge of becoming public charges, they would sometimes provide the unfortunates with a little gift of money and assist them in moving over the line into another parish. The English law books reveal plenty of litigation as the result of such attempts to shift responsibility.

Consequently, whenever a new family came to the community, there was immediate general interest in their financial standing and capacities for independence. If there seemed likelihood of their becoming public charges, the constable was directed to warn them either to provide a bond against costs which the town might possibly incur in their support, or to remove themselves within a given number of days.

Thus, on January 16, 1777,

Stephen Knight & Family Viz Mary his wife Mary & Elizabeth his Daughters, warned to depart this Town to ye Town they last resided in Viz Sudbury.

And likewise Susanna Amsdel with Jason her Child warned to depart this Town to ye Town she last resided in Viz Framingham.

In August of the same year, Ruth Wood was warned to depart or 'give Security to save the Town from all Charges that may arise by her residence.'

It is hard to discover the grounds of the town's concern in some instances, as where a family with several servants was among those warned to depart. They would seem to have been financially able, but there may have been attendant circumstances to justify a doubt. Or perhaps they were unwelcome for some other reason. Some communities regularly warned all newcomers as a kind of precautionary measure.

The town, however, did not shirk responsibility for its own needy citizens, though it certainly sought to maintain them at minimum expense. The customary method, until the town became large enough to require an alms house, was to board the unfortunates out among the citizens, in whose families they presumably made themselves as useful as their capabilities permitted.

March meeting in 1718 'Voted that Thomas Woodward sen'r have ten shilling paid him by the Town for entertaining Kathn. Horton.' In 1736 the town voted to 'do nothing to wards maintaining of John Ellis because it was thought more proper for His relations to take cair of him at present.' But there is something ambiguous — a little hard to understand, at any rate — in a direction that 'the Select Men be impowerd to gitt the money reimbursed where they can find the same, that the Town paid for the Indian womans sickness.'

Bills for medical attendance upon the poor seem to have been generally approved with little argument, and it is apparent that they were fixed on a moderate scale. They must have been, to pass a town meeting that directed the selectmen to provide for the poor in 'the Cheapest and best manner they can'; and at another time 'Voted That the whole or part of the Poor in Said Town [that] go to any Person or Persons that will Keep them Cheepest.'

Yet, even in this seeming spirit of parsimony, there was a

strong sense of fairness — at least toward the self-sufficient citizens. Hence, in 1778,

On the Question whether the Town will make Allowance to those who kept and boarded the Poor the year past, on Account of the high prices of Provisions

Voted in the affirmative

Voted to allow Mr. Elisha Gardner ten shillings @ Weed [*sic*] for boarding Elizabeth Chamberlain instead of the Price agreed for till the year is compleated

Voted to allow Mr. Elhanan Winchester Six shilings @ Week for Mary Bowen's Board, instead of the price agreed for, till her year is compleated

Voted that the Thanks of the Town be given to Mr. John Heath for consenting to board Mrs. Sarah Williams at the price agreed.

Of course Sarah Williams may have been a light eater, or John Heath may have had an exceptionally economical wife, but it is much more likely that he was simply a man whose sense of honor dictated that he carry out an unprofitable agreement as readily as one that promised him generous returns.

With all this restriction of expenditure for the needy, it would not be fair to convict the inhabitants of eighteenth-century Brookline of a lack of humane generosity. On May 31, 1787, the town resolved to take up a collection 'for the Sufferers by the late fire in Boston' and the selectmen were directed to receive contributions and disburse them as seemed best.

TOWN OFFICERS

A very fair picture of the character of life and the problems of administration in the community may be gained from a comprehensive view of the officers usually elected each year, and their duties. The March meeting of 1776 may be taken as typical of the town when its government had become a little more complex than it was at the beginning of the century.

The first business of the meeting was, of course, to choose its moderator. Then a town clerk was elected and sworn. This year there were five selectmen; more commonly there were but three. Sometimes the constable was elected; sometimes he made a proposal to the town to serve the town for a fixed

sum, or for a percentage of the sums gathered by him as tax collector. In 1776 Elhanan Winchester's offer to do the job for fifteen pounds was accepted.

There were surveyors of highways chosen for the various districts. The town also required a clerk of the market, a surveyor of boards, two fence-viewers, a surveyor of wood, two field drivers, a sealer of leather, a town treasurer, and two hogreaves. And a committee was named to examine the accounts of the town and school treasurers.¹

THE LARGER SPHERE OF GOVERNMENT

It was part of the town's obligation also, as has appeared, to participate in the provincial or state government, yet it was no unusual thing for the voters to decide not to send a representative, on account of the expense involved. Sometimes the responsibility was evaded by petitioning the General Court to be relieved of it. A variation of this is seen in the record of May 13, 1762, when it was 'Voted Not to send a Representative the Ensuing Year (by Reason not Oblig'd to send by Law).' On occasion a fine was assessed on the town for shirking this governmental duty, as appears from the entry dated August 8, 1785 in the words:

Voted, that the abatement of the Fine which the Town was Fined for not sending a Representative the Year 1783, be applied for the above purpose [to paint the lower part of the steeple and the window frames of the meeting house], and paying for the Bell wheel.

Yet the cost of sending a representative does not seem large. John Winchester was granted nine pounds for his services in that capacity in 1709, and eight pounds in 1710. And in 1741 the town effected a saving by resolving that 'our Representative be paid in Land Bank or Manufactory Money for serving the town as Representative this year.'

Another matter that went beyond the confines of the village was that of public defense, to which every town was expected to make its fair contribution. As early as 1712, it was 'Voted

¹ An account in detail of the duties of town officers may be found in *Town Government in Massachusetts, 1620-1930*, by John Fairfield Sly; Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1930.

that the Six pounds in the Treasurers hands be for the procuring Ammunition for the Town's Use as the Law Directs and requires.' In 1740, the sum of eighty pounds was appropriated 'to defray the Schools Charges and purches a Town stock of ammonishon.' In 1744, it was twenty pounds 'for A Town stock of Ammunishon.'

There are three spellings, thus far, though the meaning is clear enough every time. Still ingenuity is not exhausted. It is barely possible that the town clerk in 1784 did not dare attempt the word at all, for he recorded the vote 'that the Towns Stock of Powder be Sold.'

Even apart from war activities, however, it was thought well to keep the local company presentable. Hence the tax levied in 1799 included a sum to provide drums and fifes for the company, as well as coats and hats for such of its members as were not able to buy their own; and a similar vote is noted in 1809.

In addition to such relations with the general government, there were necessary negotiations with neighboring communities, usually entrusted to the selectmen, or to a specially chosen committee. Some co-operation was obviously necessary in the laying out of highways. Every few years a perambulation of the boundaries was in order — an interesting process, in which committees from the adjoining towns met and checked over together the trees and stones and rivulets which had been agreed upon by their predecessors as marking their mutual limits.

A feeling arose, and became common, that the towns of Massachusetts shared interests in many respects opposed to those of Boston, which as time went on seemed to occupy too dominant a position. As early as November 16, 1726, the town voted by a large majority in favor of dividing the County of Suffolk. In 1733,

voted Whither it be the mind of the Town to Joyn with the
Country Towns of this County to be made into A sepearte
County from Boston it passed in the Affirmative.

This was reiterated in 1738.

However, when a proposal was put forward in 1791 for

dividing Suffolk County into a number of small counties, it was vigorously disapproved in Brookline, as tending to the multiplication of public offices, the inefficiency of government, and increase of administrative expense. The town advocated that if any division were arranged at all, it should simply separate Boston from the country towns.

Plans for the division went ahead, however, and gave rise to a complicated situation in 1793, when the town of Brookline petitioned the General Court for relief. The neighboring towns had at first agreed to be made parts of the new County of Norfolk, but a number of them subsequently thought better of this, and decided to stick to Boston and the County of Suffolk. By the first plan Brookline, if it had declined to go with the other country towns, would have been isolated from the rest of Suffolk by the intervention of Roxbury. After the change in plans Brookline, if it adhered to the new County of Norfolk, would be entirely cut off from the shire town of that county. In consequence, Brookline too asked to change its allegiance, and to be reunited to the County of Suffolk; but it does not appear that the General Court ever acted upon the petition.

ODDS AND ENDS OF GOVERNMENT

There still remain a few miscellaneous aspects of town administration which, though they are not of large significance, ought not to be passed over without mention. The provision of a burying ground was a matter which had early to be attended to, although inhabitants of Muddy River had been in the main attached to the church at Roxbury, and many of them were buried there. On April 30, 1717, Erosamon Drew, John Druce, Josiah Winchester, Sr., Benjamin White, Jr., Caleb Gardner, Samuel Clark, Sr., and William Sharp were directed to attend to procuring land for a cemetery; and on November 21 they reported that they had bought a half acre from Samuel Clark, Jr., for eight pounds, agreeing that he should be privileged to mow the hay in exchange for maintaining the front fence. This was the site of the present Walnut Street Cemetery.

When a citizen desired to erect a tomb for his family's use, it was customary for him first to obtain the permission of the

town meeting. Every employment of common property was thus hedged about by the closest supervision. At March meeting of 1718, just after the new cemetery had been purchased, it was even 'Voted Thomas Lee Grave Digger.'

While the town was still identical with the parish, and the body of voters nearly identical with the church, it was not strange that the town meeting in 1713, when the first efforts were being made to locate a burying place, 'Voted That Mr Samuel Sewal & Mr Peter Boylston should Procure a Pall or Burying-Cloth to Cover the Corps, at the Towns Cost,' and provided an extra appropriation of six pounds to defray the expense. This was probably used with care, for the next mention of the subject is in 1762, when it was 'Voted To get a Black Velvet Pall.'

There are frequent votes, also, on the erection and maintenance of the pound on Pound Lane, where the proper town officers detained animals that were taken running at large. The road where the pound stood was called Pound Lane, a name later changed to Reservoir Road. From year to year it was customary for the town meeting to determine whether cattle and hogs should be allowed to run at large, or must be penned. And in the records of the town, one may discern, by reading these entries alone, its gradual change from a frontier community to an urban one. On every frontier, stock raising is general and opinion dictates that the man who wants a garden must fence it for his own protection. Then, as the frontier goes on, and the land behind it is devoted more and more to the raising of crops, sentiment changes, and the man who would engage in the now secondary business of stock raising does so at his peril, and under the duty of protecting his neighbors' grain and gardens.

One of the first acts of the new town was to determine, in 1710, 'That there be a Post Erected to putt Publishments on &c By Ens Whites corner' — in other words, a public bulletin board, near the site of the present fire station in Village Square. More ominous, and by its delay significant of the character of the community, was the vote of June 4, 1772, 'To Provide Stocks for Said Town.' Evidently by that time a citizen or two had been found who seemed to require the discipline which this implied.

All public functions were elaborately prescribed by the town meeting. A perfect example is in the memorial service for George Washington, held February 22, 1800. The selectmen were made a committee to confer with the Reverend John Pierce and arrange for him to lead the meeting in prayer and deliver an appropriate discourse. They were also to provide 'a suitable Cloth to put the Pulpit in mourning.' Another committee was enjoined to choose appropriate anthems, psalms, or hymns for the occasion. The militia was asked to attend in uniform. And the order of the procession was carefully detailed.

The occasion was marked by the greatest gravity and the sincerest of mourning. Here were people who had seen Washington and walked with him, fought in the ranks which he inspirited — people who knew that with his death the nation had come to a new epoch. And Brookline, the 'Poor Little Town' of 1714, draped the pulpit in the best black broadcloth and did such homage as it might.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT FAMILIES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

TO SETTLE upon a standard of greatness among the families of such a community as eighteenth-century Brookline is a virtually impossible task. In 1740 there were 55 dwellings and 34 family names represented in the town; in 1796, 57 dwellings and 43 different surnames, with a population of about 600.

Under the circumstances of town government nearly every male inhabitant shared some public responsibilities. To do so was an obligation, for which honor rather than money was the reward. Payments for official services were extremely small, but the duty to the community was freely acknowledged, and many a man paid the fine assessed by the town meeting when, for reasons of his own convenience, he declined an office to which he had been elected.

There was, thus, a general participation in public affairs. Perhaps a score of families bore the brunt of administrative duties. It would be monotonous to record of the Devotions or the Goddards or the Winchesters, or indeed of any of the truly first families of Brookline, the details of their co-operation in the town government, or to enumerate their public offices from year to year, or from generation to generation.

This chapter is not an attempt to report meticulously upon those matters which only the town records can present in full. Nor is it an effort in the direction of a historical geography of ancient dwellings, such as Miss Woods has done so well.¹ It is, rather, an account of eminent family names and distinguished services.

Perhaps one could say that without the score of families about whom something is told here, eighteenth-century Brookline could not have borne the courageous, and even heroic part it did. Or one might turn to the comment made by John

¹ *Historical Sketches of Brookline, Mass.*, by Harriet F. Woods; Boston, Published for the Author, by Robert S. Davis and Company, 1874.

Adams, when he was Vice-President, on the matter of family pride. If it were excusable at all, he said he should 'think a descent from a line of virtuous, independent New England farmers for one hundred and sixty years was a better foundation for it than a descent from regular noble scoundrels ever since the flood.'

Certainly the families who were the strength of Brookline between 1700 and 1800 were of such stock. Their distinction rested upon their inherent worth and not upon their inherited wealth. They mattered because they were capable people who faced successive unfamiliar tasks and mastered them. They were guided by tradition, but unfettered by it. To know them would be to know a cross-section of the fine, substantial stock that formed the very background of revolutionary New England.

THE SEWALL FAMILY

The Sewalls were, in one sense, the family most intimately connected with Brookline, for the town's name is presumed to have been taken from the estate which Judge Samuel Sewall, of witchcraft fame, called 'Brooklin.' The judge married Hannah Hull, daughter of John Hull and Judith Quincy. This John Hull, designer of the pine tree shilling, and Master of the Mint in Boston, was the son of Robert Hull, an original grantee in Muddy River.

Through his wife, Judge Sewall came into possession of the Hull property, amounting to some three hundred acres. It does not appear that he ever lived on the estate, and indeed there was evidently not a habitable house on the property, for the judge negotiated with John Devotion for the purchase of an adjoining tract of land with buildings, and failing in this erected a house for his son, Samuel, Jr., in 1703. The farm included the area between the Charles River and Muddy River, where was the site of the 'fort on Sewall's Point' which helped to protect Brookline during the Revolution.

Samuel Sewall, Jr., became a citizen of some importance. He was one of the petitioners for a separate town government for the community, and after this was granted he became the first town clerk, serving also at other times as treasurer, select-

man, and representative to the General Court. He was eminent enough to be given first choice of pews in the meeting-house when it was built.

His son, Henry, was born in the Brookline home March 8, 1720, graduated from Harvard, and entered the public service when he was elected fence-viewer in 1741. Like his father he served as town clerk and treasurer, and participated in public duties connected with the church.

At his death, May 29, 1771, he was survived by his sons Henry and Samuel, and his daughter, Hannah. Another son, Hull, had died a few years earlier at the age of twenty-four, and Henry died not long afterward at the same age. Samuel and Hannah inherited interests in the Brookline property, the daughter's rights not being entirely clear, as the Brookline Committee of Correspondence, Safety and Inspection found when they contemplated confiscation of Samuel's interest. Samuel, practicing law in Boston, was an ardent Tory, and as such found it expedient to depart to England soon after the outbreak of the Revolution.

Hannah Sewall in 1776 married Edward Kitchen Wolcott, but they seem not to have lived on the estate in Longwood, for other persons, presumably tenants, were assessed for the taxes over most of the years until 1804. Then Charles Stearns, grandfather of the present owner of the house supposedly built in 1767 for Hull Sewall, who died the same year, appeared as joint occupant with Wolcott. Subsequently there was a division of the property, and Wolcott seems to have disposed of his interest in 1821, when Charles Stearns became the owner of thirty-three acres, including the dwelling.

Thus the Sewall name vanished from Brookline, and the Sewall participation, so important at its birth as a town, in its affairs.

THE CRAFT, OR CRAFTS, FAMILY

Griffin Craft, first inhabitant of the Muddy River area, was the forefather of all the Brookline Crafts. His home, however, was properly in Roxbury, and it was his great-grandson, Deacon Ebenezer Craft, who bought the house built in Muddy River about 1700 by Vincent Druce. He married Susannah White of Brookline.



HOUSE FORMERLY ON THE CORNER OF BEACON AND CHARLES STREETS
Built after 1750 by Captain Henry Sewall, grandson of the Chief Justice; now owned by Charles H. Stearns

Their daughter, Elizabeth, married and soon widowed, was for many years the beloved character known to the town as 'Aunt White.' A son, Caleb, was a lieutenant in Captain Thomas White's Brookline company in the Revolution, and played an active part in the recruiting business of the times. In 1812, he married Jerusha, daughter of Benjamin White, and on her death, Sarah, daughter of Robert Sharp. At his own death in 1826, he left two groups of descendants to carry on the name, but most of them in time settled elsewhere.

Collateral branches of the Crafts were several in the eighteenth century, and men of that name served repeatedly in minor town offices, such as surveyor of highways, field driver, and member of a committee to employ teachers. Apart from the military Caleb, they do not seem to have attained positions of marked leadership, but it is evident that, in intermarriage, they contributed to several of the town's first families.

THE GARDNER FAMILY

Thomas Gardner and his son Thomas, both natives of England, were the progenitors of that family in Massachusetts. Thomas, Sr., died in 1639, and two years later Thomas, Jr., married Lucy Smith of Roxbury and settled in Brookline. He contributed to the Roxbury school, and to the construction of a meeting-house there in 1672, on the promise of the extension of privileges to inhabitants of Muddy River. At his death in 1689 he left two sons and four daughters, one of whom became the wife of Thomas Boylston.

Andrew Gardner, a brother of Thomas, Jr., had sons named Andrew and Thomas, the first accidentally shot while helping to maintain a night watch against Indians in the town of Lancaster, in 1704, the other a victim of the Phips Canadian expedition of 1690.

The sons of Thomas Gardner, Jr., were Thomas and Joshua. The latter married Mary Weld of Roxbury in 1681, and ten years later lost his Muddy River home by fire. However, on December 21, 1691, Judge Sewall's diary records:

Went with Mr. Addington and wife to the new house of Joshua Gardner, where were Mr. Walter and wife, Mr. Dennison and wife, Sir Ruggles and Mrs. Weld [presumably

uncle and aunt of Mrs. Gardner]. At dinner Mr. Walter asked the blessing, and Mr. Dennison returned thanks on account of completing their new house.

Joshua's brother Thomas was to become known as Deacon Gardner, though he was sometimes mentioned as a lieutenant, probably because of participation in the Indian wars. His wife, Mary Bowles, bore him seven children, including three sons, Solomon, Caleb, and Benjamin, who in order succeeded him in ownership of the home he had built in 1718. Benjamin turned the property over to his son, Deacon Elisha Gardner, and built himself a home on Heath Street, near the Newton line, where he died in 1762. This place then fell to his son, Samuel, who died about ten years later, leaving a son, Caleb, then about sixteen, as heir. Caleb Gardner, too young to serve as a soldier in the Revolution, attached himself to Colonel Wesson, a Brookline officer who won distinction on several fronts, and after the war made his home in Brookline again. His grandson, Dr. Augustus Gardner, became a resident of New York City, and was the last male of his line.

The house of Deacon Thomas Gardner which fell to his son Benjamin, and later to Benjamin's son Elisha, was sold by him to John Goddard. Miss Harriet F. Woods described the structure as it was about 1870, and since this home may be taken as typical of the time and place, her long paragraph seems deserving of reproduction here:

Deacon Gardner built his house for two centuries at least, judging from the substantial work he put into it. There is very little cellar room, for the good reason that nearly all that might have been cellar is chimney-work. The three stacks of chimneys contain brick enough for a moderate-sized house. The walls of the house are laid in large coarse brick, plastered with clay, between the outside and inside, to the very roof. The immense timbers are of solid oak, as are also the doors. The rooms are sheathed with paneled woodwork, presenting a painted surface, which might well dismay a modern housekeeper. The doors are braced with long and strong iron hinges, reaching half across their width, and some of them were opened by great wooden latches which lifted by a string, one of which remains till the present time.

Closets of all sorts in most unexpected places, were planned for the good housewife's convenience. Each of the front rooms had a recess, closed up with doors of paneled wood-work, concealing a bed turned up against the wall. A deep window seat was also provided with a cover to lift, disclosing a box or chest; the fireplace in this room is surrounded by blue and white Dutch tiles, covered with the most grotesque illustrations of Scripture history.... The L on the north side was at first but one story high, and a second story window in the main house, which looked in that direction, was of diamond panes in leaden sash, evidently brought from England, as the house was built long before glass was made in this country.... Trap-doors in the floors, in the second story, indicate the method of 'getting up stairs,' before stairs were built. After the present occupants had lived twenty-one years in the house, a secret room in the second story was discovered. It was perfectly dark, and only accessible by a ladder, after removing a sliding board.... This room had been used by former occupants of the house as a place for secreting valuables, but had been forgotten, or never mentioned, so that its discovery by the present occupants was a complete surprise....

A grandson of Deacon Thomas Gardner was Isaac Gardner, Harvard graduate, and one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, who fell on the 19th of April, 1775. He was an honored and much beloved citizen, and when his family of eighteen were made homeless by a fire, the public desire to help was at once manifest. According to the *Massachusetts Gazette*, of September 8, 1768, the loss amounted to between four thousand and five thousand pounds, old tenor. A few days after the fire, a meeting of the town raised one hundred pounds to aid Isaac Gardner in building a new house, though there were probably less than fifty families in Brookline at that time.

From the time when four Gardners signed the petition for the separation of Muddy River in 1705, members of the family participated actively in the government of Brookline. Thomas Gardner, Sr., and Thomas his son had commenced public services well before that time, the former serving as a perambulator of the boundaries in 1667, and as constable in 1670. Isaac Gardner, Jr., was town clerk from 1758 until his death

in 1775, and treasurer until that office was separated from the town clerk's in 1768. With the exception of two years, he was a selectman continuously from 1760 to 1774. He was appointed a justice of the peace in 1761, and held that office until he was killed. And such a summary by no means indicates the full extent of his participation in public affairs, on committees of one kind and another. His record is typical of the records of able men of the time, for ability was urgently needed, and could not be allowed to evade the duty of service to the community.

The names of more than a score of Gardners appear on the public records of Brookline through the eighteenth century, in evidence of the wide usefulness of that family to the town.

THE DEVOTION FAMILY

Although the town has had no representative of the Devotion name since 1744, that family must stand out among the eighteenth-century residents of the town as the one which has, perhaps, left the influence most apparent to citizens of 1930.

Edward Devotion, born in 1621, bought land at Muddy River from William Salter of Boston, and is known to have been living there in 1645. He was a French Huguenot, an immigrant from La Rochelle, where it is supposed the De Vaution family were his ancestors.

In 1645 he became a member of the church and a freeman; he married, and in 1649 his first child, a daughter, was born. The infant was baptized at the First Church in Boston on February 25, and her mother on the same day by 'Apostle' John Eliot, at Roxbury. There were ten more children during the next twenty years, including three sons, about only one of whom any record remains.

This was John Devotion, born in 1659, and destined to serve, like his father and his son, Edward, in such capacities as constable, tithingman, and perambulator of the town boundaries. In 1694 John bought property in Attleboro, but he evidently did not occupy it — certainly not before 1704, for he held offices in Brookline until that year. In 1711 the Attleboro land was sold, and in 1715 John Devotion moved to Suffield, Connecticut, where he died in 1733.

His son John passed a lifetime, from the age of twenty, as a schoolmaster in Swansea, and his son Ebenezer had already gone to Suffield in 1709, where he was ordained in 1710. This was doubtless the main inducement for John Devotion's moving there.

But his son Edward, perhaps primarily responsible for the Devotion fame in Brookline, remained there. He held responsible offices from 1691 until his death in 1744. He was constable so many times that in 1727 he sought to decline the election and 'the town by a hand vote excused him' instead of imposing the fine customary in such instances.

Both Edward Devotion and his father, John, were of those real fathers of the town who signed the petition for Brookline's separation from Boston. And Edward was devoted, not only to the town but to the church, where he long served as tithing-man, with the principal duty of awakening sleepy or disciplining disorderly children with a long wand. According to Miss Harriet F. Woods, he adopted a girl and a boy, the latter Solomon Hill; but contrary to Miss Woods' account, Edward Devotion left no property to Solomon Hill, rather directing his executors to enforce collection of a mortgage which he held against Hill. There appears to be no recorded evidence of such an adoption, and it is likely that Miss Woods was misled by some erroneous tradition.

But Edward Devotion gave evidence in his will of his love for the town that had been his home, for after a number of specific bequests, including a gift to the church of 'one Silver Tankard containing one Quart,' he left his residuary estate to the town 'towards Building or maintaining a School as near the Centre of the said Town as shall be agreed upon by the Town.' If no agreement could be had on the location of the school — and the Devotions had had a great deal of experience of town meetings — then 'the said overplus to be laid out in purchasing a Wood Lott for the use of the School and the ministry of said Town forever.'

In 1748 the selectmen were made a committee to 'have care of the estate of Edward Devotion,' which was not, however, settled until more than ten years later, when the town received the sum of 308 half-johannes, equivalent to \$3696, in addition

to a 'bight' of land 'lying on the Back side of North Yarmouth.' The interest of this legacy was applied, by vote of the town in 1762, to the maintenance of 'the middle school house.'

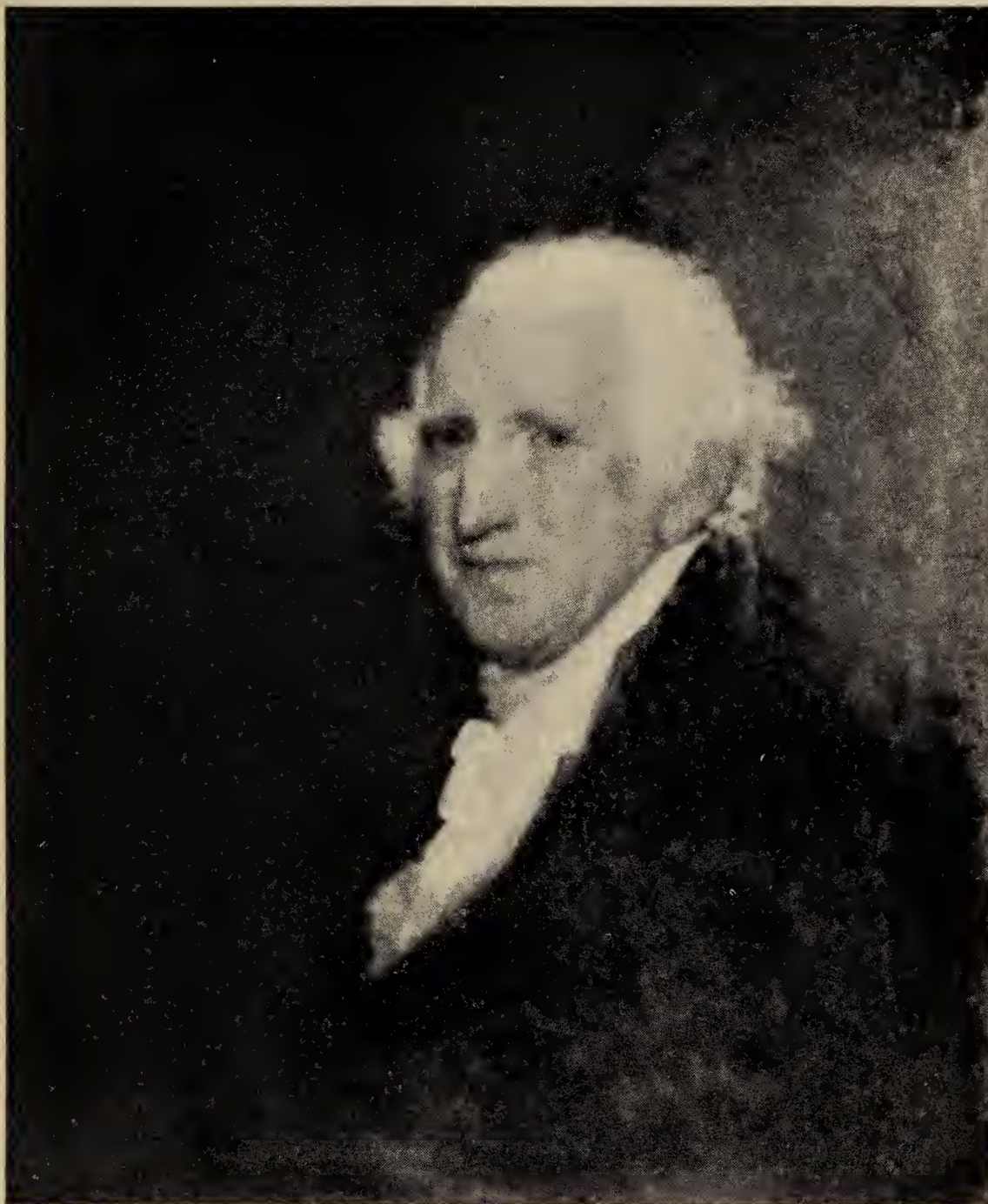
Nehemiah Davis, Nathaniel Seaver, Joseph White, Ebenezer Davis, and Isaac Gardner were appointed custodians of the fund, which was loaned to the Commonwealth during the Revolution, repaid in continental currency of little value, and reinvested. Fifty years were required to build the legacy up to its original sum. Then it was applied toward the construction of a town house, by the transparent subterfuge of providing for two school rooms in that structure, the express intent of the donor being utterly disregarded in a manner which was obviously illegal. But years afterward, when the growing town needed an elaborate new school, it was erected on Harvard Street near the site of the old Edward Devotion house, and was named in honor of that public spirited man. Indeed, a little sentimental juggling of accounts persuaded the town that Edward Devotion's legacy had at last been used as he desired.

THE ASPINWALL FAMILY

Another name which added luster to the town was that of Aspinwall. As early as 1652 Peter Aspinwall was surveyor of highways for Muddy River, having settled there about 1650 on land purchased from William Colborne, one of the original grantees. There, about 1660, he built a house, not far from the site of an earlier one, at a point approximately opposite the present St. Paul's Church on Aspinwall Avenue. This structure, for which Thomas Joy was the architect, stood until it was pulled down in 1891.

His son, Samuel, was a lieutenant in the party of Sir William Phips which went to capture Port Royal in 1690, and was afterward captain of a Brookline company. With Eleazer Aspinwall, Samuel was a signer of the petition of 1704 which resulted in Brookline's independent status. He was drowned in 1727, at the age of sixty-five.

Thomas Aspinwall, a son, served as lieutenant in his father's company. It was he who married Johannah Gardner, daughter of Caleb Gardner, and begot Dr. William Aspinwall of



DR. WILLIAM ASPINWALL
1743-1824
By Gilbert Stuart

Revolutionary fame, in 1743. A brother of the doctor was Colonel Thomas Aspinwall, who commanded the fort at Sewall's Point during a part of the war for independence, and whose great-grandson carried on the family's military tradition a century later in the Civil War.

Dr. William Aspinwall's services in the Revolution were outstanding. His private practice in time became largely specialized in the field in which Dr. Zabdiel Boylston had so bravely pioneered — smallpox inoculation. There was opposition to be overcome on the part of the town, but Dr. Aspinwall was at last permitted to erect hospitals on his property, and patients came from a wide area to be treated by him. One building was located on Aspinwall Avenue between Toxteth Street and the railroad, and another near the corner of Aspinwall Avenue and Perry Street.

To understand fully the account of one who, as a child, underwent inoculation at Dr. Aspinwall's hands, it should be explained that an accident with an arrow in his youth had deprived him of the sight of one eye. Unhappily, in his last years an operation for cataract on the good eye proved unsuccessful. His procedure is described in these terms:

I have a clear recollection of my terror when, sixty-four years ago, a very old man, with but one eye, — he seemed to be a very old man, though he was but fifty then, — came towards me, with a little glittering weapon in his hand, as I sat in my nurse's lap. I had the promise of a cake of gingerbread if I behaved well, so I sat still and suffered him to make a little incision in my arm. I had been carried from Boston to Brookline to be inoculated for the smallpox at the hospital there, and there we were to remain for several weeks, until the affair was well over, when, after having been thoroughly smoked and purified, we were again to go forth into the world.

These associations were but short-lived, however, for this old man with but one eye really seemed to see farther into the hearts of little people than most of the people who have two, and to have a master-key to their very souls. He carried me in his arms about his farm, and showed me his calves and pigs and poultry; told me some very pleasant stories, and gave me a puppy; in short I became so fond of him that I asked my mother to say to him that he might inoculate me as often

as he had a mind to; and when at last the time of our departure arrived, and we had been smoked all around, and he kissed me as he put me into the carriage, I bawled out loud; and I truly believe the good old gentleman was gratified by this unmistakable evidence of my affection.

Dr. Aspinwall was eminently successful in his profession, and always alert to keep abreast of new discoveries in medicine. When Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse of Cambridge introduced a new method of attaining immunity from smallpox, by vaccination, Dr. Aspinwall was deeply interested. According to Dr. Waterhouse, he examined the skin eruption with the greatest care, and said, 'This pustule is so like smallpox, and yet it is not smallpox, that, should it, on scabbing, take out a part of the true skin, so as to leave an indelible mark or pit behind, I shall be ready to conclude that it is a mild species of smallpox, hitherto unknown here.'

Tests on his own behalf, and examination of members of Dr. Waterhouse's family who had been vaccinated, convinced Dr. Aspinwall that a great forward step in medicine had been made. By denouncing the new treatment, he might have continued to draw a profitable clientele to his own hospitals, but to Dr. Waterhouse he said, 'This new inoculation of yours is no sham. As a man of humanity I rejoice in it, although it will take from me a handsome annual income.' And Dr. Waterhouse commented, 'His conduct throughout was so strongly marked with superior intelligence, generosity, and honor as to excite my esteem and respect...'

Evidence of the same fine character was apparent in another way in one of the doctor's sons, Thomas. His first son, William, Jr., followed his father's profession, but preceded him in death, at the age of thirty-four. Thomas, like William, graduated from Harvard, but chose the law as his profession, participating in his leisure time in the activities of a military body called the Independent Cadets, of Boston. He became a major of the Ninth United States Infantry at the outbreak of the War of 1812, was brevetted lieutenant-colonel for bravery at Sackett's Harbor in 1813, and was wounded in the assault on Fort Erie, August 10, 1814.

In a letter to his father, dated October 1, 1814, at 'Williams-

ville, N. Y., 11 miles from Buff^o, he gives an extended account of the military operations in the preceding August, mentions the engagement in which, he says, 'I received a musket-shot above the elbow of the left arm, which completely carried away about an inch and a half of the bone. I, of course, had no further part in the active duty of that day...' He courageously minimized his misfortune:

I shall be able to begin to travel home slowly in about 10 days, and shall, with the blessing of God, soon see you all. After being wounded I walked back to my tent, and in about an hour had only one arm, a circumstance which does not afflict me, my dear father, and must not you. But let us both thank God that he has so formed us that you have lived almost all your life happy and respectable, notwithstanding the loss of an eye, and I may spend the remainder of my life in the same manner with the loss of a limb, of all the most conveniently spared....

I write with some difficulty because the paper moves under my pen, as I have no left hand to steady it.

The following year Colonel Aspinwall was made United States Consul at London, a post which he filled for thirty-seven years, until he was replaced for political reasons by an appointee of President Pierce. The regard in which he was held by many of the most distinguished citizens of London is evidence that he must have possessed a great deal of his father's charm of personality, along with his remarkably fine character.

The Colonel's son, named William, was born in London, educated at Harvard, and admitted to the Suffolk County bar in 1841. He became a resident of Brookline in 1847, and in a variety of public offices carried on for the next quarter century the traditions of service to the community that have ever marked the founding families of Brookline.

THE SHARP FAMILY

Robert Sharp had been Peter Aspinwall's associate in purchasing one hundred and fifty acres from William E. Colborne in 1650. He was then about thirty-five years old, a native of England, who had come over in 1635 and seems to have resided during the intervening years in Dorchester.

The Sharps were Brookline's principal Indian fighters. When Robert died in 1654, his widow was quick to remarry, and Peter Aspinwall acted as guardian for the daughters Abigail and Mary, while Thomas Meekins undertook to bring up John Sharp to his trade. Miss Woods reprints a touching letter from John Sharp, written early in 1676 to Thomas Meekins, then at Hatfield, in which he speaks of the hazards of the Indian war. About a month later, he was killed in the 'Sudbury fight.'

He left two daughters and two sons, one of whom, Robert, set out on the expedition to Canada in 1690, and did not return. His widow married and was widowed again within four years, and just before embarking on a third venture, made a will in favor of her children by Robert Sharp. One of these, also named Robert, purchased his uncle William's interest in John Sharp's estate, and became one of the signers of Brookline's petition for independence. Another child, Martha, married Joseph Buckminster, and became one of the progenitors of a distinguished line.

Throughout the century, the Sharps played their part in town affairs; and Stephen Sharp acted as town clerk for nearly forty years after the Revolution.

THE ACKERS FAMILY

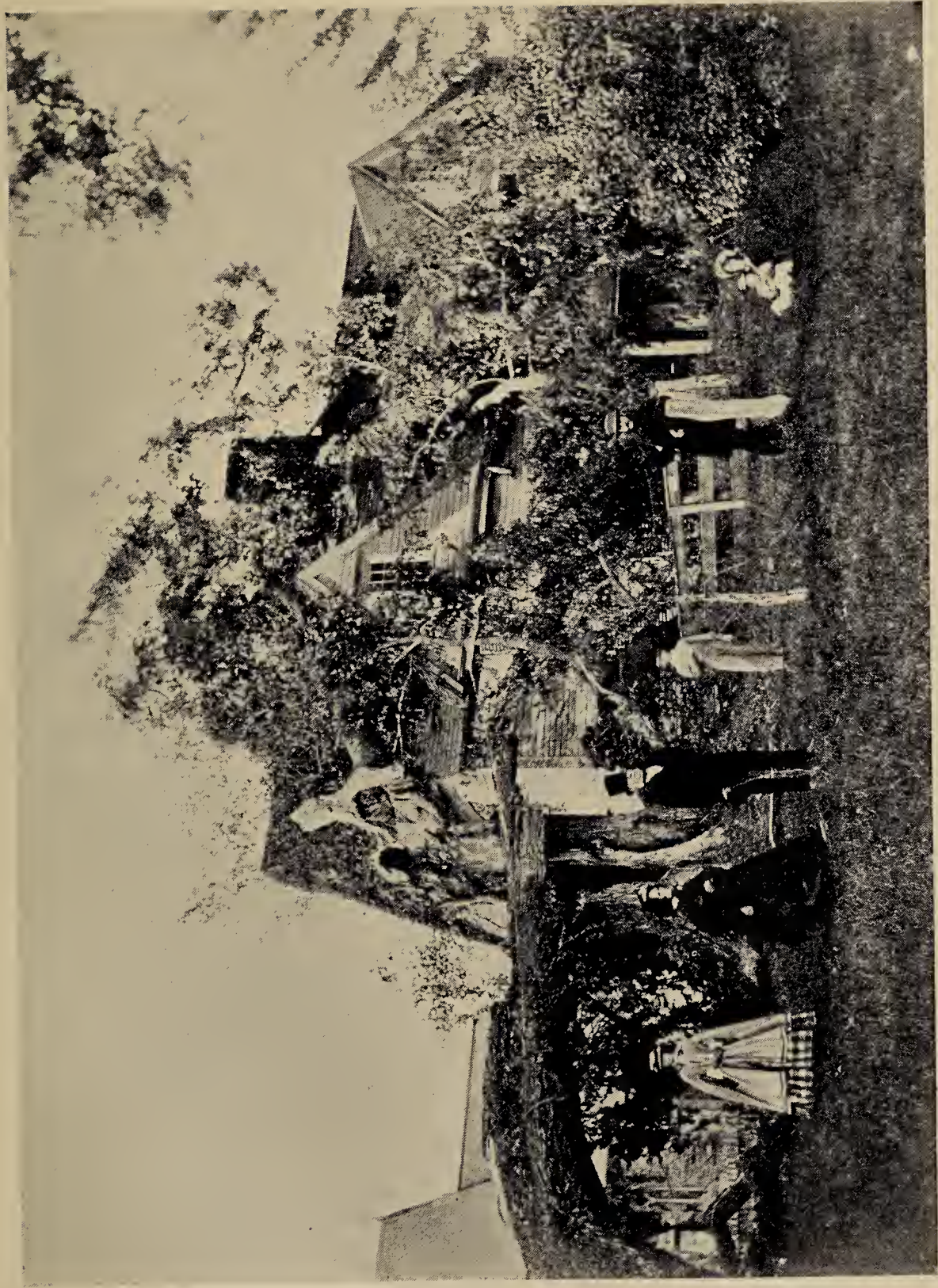
John Ackers was one of the settlers who promptly followed the original grantees to Muddy River, although he was himself a purchaser of land. It is not certain exactly when he bought property from Jacob Eliot, a brother of the Reverend John Eliot of Roxbury, but he was a resident of the village in 1656.

He is recorded as a surveyor of highways, and at another time as a tithingman. Both he and his son William signed the petition for separation from Boston, but the family has been less prominent in town affairs than many others.

They acquired extensive acreage in the town, devoted primarily to farming, and the name lived through seven generations in Brookline.

THE GRIGGS FAMILY

At the time of the 'great allotments' of 1638, George Griggs, of Boston, received twenty-eight acres in the northwestern



OLD ASPINWALL HOUSE (1660-1891) ON THE DAY THE OLD ELM FELL
With three generations of Aspinwalls

corner of the Muddy River area, but one lot distant from the Cambridge line. It was not many years before this passed into the hands of Joshua Scottow, and in time became part of the Hull-Sewall estate. Bradford Kingman errs in stating this grant was to Thomas Griggs, and another writer mistakenly locates the lot on the east side of Washington Street, near Pearl Street.

In that locality, a Dr. George Griggs built some time before the Revolution 'the long house,' sometimes called the 'Tontine.' It is uncertain whether he was the George Griggs who made an agreement in 1721 with William Heath and Joseph Craft to build a dam near Muddy River bridge. But it was his daughter, Mary, who married Captain Wyman against her parents' wishes, and found that her parents were right. Her daughter became the wife of Dr. Downer, and the estate thus passed into other hands.

It was another line of the same name whose progenitor, Thomas Griggs, came to Roxbury before 1639, and whose son, Joseph, also a native of England, married Mary, the daughter of Griffin Craft, in 1653. Joseph lived in the part of the village which then belonged to Roxbury, and by his second wife, Hannah Davis, had five children. His sons were Benjamin, Joseph, and Ichabod.

Of Ichabod, at least, it is known that he had nine children including Thomas, Samuel, and Nathaniel, each the head of a family. An experience of Nathaniel's in 1799, when he was a young man of twenty-one, gives testimony to the neighborliness of the community and to the regard in which he was held. This is related in a letter dated in March of that year:

One day the week before last Mr. Nat Griggs went to Boston in the morning with his team and before he got back his House, furniture and Cloaths except what he had on his back were consumed by fire. His house was all finished but one Room. The carpenter had just begun to finish that and went over to Mr. Moses Griggs' to get some tools. It is said he was not gone more than ten minutes and when he came back the House was all in flames, — he left a window open and there was a little fire on the Hearth to smoke Bacon, and it's supposed the wind blew a train of shavings

into the fire which caught the house. The Housekeeper was spinning in the kitchen but did not perceive the fire till the flames burst in upon her & she jumped out at a window and lost all her cloaths but what she had on. But Mrs. Moses Griggs and Mrs. Tom Gardner have been around the town to collect Cloaths for her so I believe her loss is in part made up if not all.... When Mr. Griggs got home and found his House and all that was in it burnt up (except a few things in the cellar were saved) he was ready to sink. One hundred dollars of money was consumed some silver, some Bank Bills, the Silver was melted into small pieces like shot. But one of his Brothers and Ebby Davis went round the next morning with a subscription paper & people were very liberal, the more so because he was a very industrious young man. Judge Dana, of Cambridge, gave him eighty dollars, Major Gardner forty, Mr. Mason twenty and every body according to their ability. Some gave him Timber, some boards carried to the spot, some bricks, some lime, and in short he is to have a new house raised this week and expects to be married before long to Nancy Aspinwall. He was finishing his house for her when it was burnt.

A numerous and long-lived family, Miss Woods comments that 'in its various branches [it] has been always of high standing in the town, having hardly ever been without one or more members holding some office of trust and honor either in the town or church.' The town records are full of references to George and Thomas Griggs, those names being particularly favored by the family; and ten of its members are specifically mentioned, most of them repeatedly, in the course of the century.

THE WHITE FAMILY

John White was one of the largest landowners who obtained his property by purchase. He is supposed to have come from England about 1638, and settled in Watertown, where his three sons were born. In 1650 he moved to Muddy River hamlet and bought a part, at least, of the Leverett grant, to which he added, over a period of thirty years, neighboring properties which at length built up his own estate to nearly three hundred acres.

Descendants of John White, Jr., his eldest son, moved away

from the village, but representatives of the lines of Joseph and Benjamin White were still to be found in twentieth-century Brookline. According to Charles F. White, in a paper prepared for the Brookline Historical Society in 1903, the general distinction might be made that Joseph's branch of the family lived in the southern and western parts of the town, around Warren and Heath Streets, while Benjamin's branch lived along Washington Street, either at the village or near the southwest slope of Corey Hill.

John White, Sr., had not been long in Muddy River before he was given public responsibility. In 1654 he was chosen to lay out the highway from Roxbury to Cambridge, and the next year he was constable. He was repeatedly a surveyor of highways and perambulator of town boundaries, a man respected in the community despite some difficulties, elsewhere related, which arose when he 'stopt up the highway.'

Joseph White, a signer of the petition for Muddy River's independence of Boston, was the father of three daughters and five sons of whom the youngest, Samuel, was born in 1683. Like his grandfather, Samuel played a part in public affairs as a Justice of the Peace and a member of the General Court. He married, in 1712, Anne Drew, daughter of the local sawmill proprietor. Of their five children, only the two daughters lived to maturity. Anne married Henry Sewall, and Susannah, the elder daughter, became the wife of Deacon Ebenezer Craft. Susannah's daughter, also named Susannah, married John Heath of Roxbury in 1758, and they later came to live in the home which Samuel Sewall, son of Henry and Anne, had inherited from his grandfather, Samuel White. Here then is a picture of the early intermarriage of the first families of the community, curiously paradoxical in that the Heaths were patriots as ardent as Samuel Sewall was a Tory.

Benjamin White, like his brother a signer of the famous petition, was the joint heir with John and Joseph of an interestingly restricted property. Their father, at his death in 1691, made several specific bequests, and added, to his three sons,

a certain parcel of land containing 32 acres; acres [Ackers, the former owner] his lot; excepting four or five acres thereof, which is elsewhere given to my son Joseph; to be by them

planted with an orchard to be improved for their eldest sons, to bring them up in good learning and upon failure of sons to their eldest daughters, to be reserved against their marriage.... And that what expense they shall be at in planting an orchard, or otherwise about the said land, shall be paid out of the income.

And the said land shall always be kept an orchard, by my sons or their heirs, which they shall keep clean from bushes. Further, I order that the aforesaid land shall be forthwith planted by my sons and their heirs, kept well pruned, and all dead trees supplied by living; a nursery being kept therein for that end.

I further will that those who are brought up to learning be kept at the college seven years.

There have been tales of tuition paid at Harvard in cows or other 'country pay' of the early days, but this example of an orchard intended to maintain the eldest sons of three branches of a family, during seven years of study, must stand unique. It seems in fact, to have gone far in educating the testator's grandsons before it was all transferred to Benjamin White, Jr., so-called, the son of Joseph.

Benjamin, Sr., son of the original John White, had five daughters and a son, Edward, who seems to have inherited something of his grandfather's desire for land. He added, in small lots, some seventy-five acres to the substantial estate his father left him. His inheritance included also a 'Black Servant,' for the possession of slaves was not exceptional in Brookline early in the eighteenth century. In fact Edward White bought a well-remembered servant in 1735, some eighteen years after his father's death. The purchase, which might as well have concerned a horse, was evidenced by a bill of sale in these terms:

Know all men by these presents that I Licestor Grosvenor Esqr of Pomfrit in the County of Windham in the Colony of Connecticut in New England have bargained Sold and Delivered unto Captain Edward White of Brooklyn in the County of Suffolk in the province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England a negroe man Servant named Cuffe of about twenty Seven or twenty Eight years of Age for the Sum of Eightey pounds of money to me in hand well and

truly paid by the said Edward White and I the Said Licester Grosvenor Do hereby avouch the said negroe Servant to be my own proper Estate and that I have good right and full power to Sell and Deliver as aforesaid & Do hereby promise that I will Secure and Defend the Said Edward White from any person or persons that Shall Claim any just right thereunto as witness my hand and seal this thirtieth Day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and thirty five.

When Edward White died in 1769 he left to his daughters, among other property, a Negro girl. By the terms of his will, his mulatto servant, Cæsar, was to wait upon Mrs. White as long as she lived. Then Cæsar and Primus, whose sale was forbidden, were to live with whichever of Edward White's sons each of them preferred.

That the family had military inclinations is shown by the prevalence of titles among them. Benjamin White, Sr., had been known as sergeant and ensign; Edward became captain of the Brookline foot company, and major in Colonel William Dudley's regiment, under appointment by Governor Shirley; and Edward's son, Benjamin, was a captain. Captain Benjamin White became a selectman and assessor in 1762, and served for ten years; he also represented the town in the General Court for eleven years, and participated in the committee work preliminary to the outbreak of the Revolution. His son, Oliver Whyte, became Brookline's first postmaster.

Captain Benjamin White died in 1790, five years after his first wife, who had been Elizabeth Aspinwall. Here again, two of the founding families had been linked, and their mingled blood was to distinguish the generations that followed, for more than a century.

THE WINCHESTER FAMILY

There was an ample representation of Winchesters in eighteenth-century Brookline. The family appears to have had a dual origin in the community, for Alexander Winchester received twenty acres in the 'great allotments' of 1638, and John Winchester, born in England in 1611, and an emigrant to Boston in 1635, settled first at Hingham, and in 1655 bought a

farm of one hundred and twenty acres in Muddy River. It does not appear which of these was the Winchester chosen constable in 1659, but there seems to be no further record of Alexander.

John married Hannah Searles, who came from a place near his old home in England, and their children were John, Mary, Jonathan, and Josiah. He served as surveyor, constable, and tithingman; and his son John, born probably at Hingham in 1644, held a variety of offices in Muddy River, and was Brookline's first representative in the General Court.

The next generation brought Henry and Elhanan Winchester. Elhanan and his son, also Elhanan, were much concerned with religious affairs, and the younger man developed from a precocious child into an able preacher who successively embraced a number of sects and served churches in Connecticut, South Carolina, Philadelphia, and England.

The Winchesters of Brookline were a numerous family, with homes in various parts of the town. At one time they owned most of Corey Hill, and within the period of the eighteenth century, nearly thirty of them are mentioned once or many times in the records of the town.

It has been possible to catch glimpses of home life and social customs in connection with some of the families mentioned in this chapter. The Winchesters provide another item, in this advertisement respecting an indentured servant, which appeared in *The Boston News-Letter* for September 5-12, 1720:

Ran-away the 7th Currant, from his Master Stephen Winchester of Brookline, an Irish Man Servant, Named Edward Coffee, about Twenty years of Age, middle Stature, full fac'd, down Look, flat Nose, a scar in his Forehead above his Right Eye; he had on and carried with him a light coloured broad cloth Coat, a cinamon coloured Chamblet Coat, an Osenbrigs Shirt, and a patch'd Holland Shirt, Cinamon coloured Breeches, with silk puffs tied at the Knees with Ferret Ribbon, gray yarn Stockings, and one pair of woosted, new round to'd Shoes with wooden Heels, a stuff Gown, a Castor and an old felt Hat, a Wig tied with black Ribbon, a black leather Belt; he carried also away with him a chestnut Sorrel Hourse, fourteen hands high, paces well, a round skirted Saddle, with blue cloth Housing. Whoever

shall take up the said Runaway and Horse, or either of them & Convey to the above said Stephen Winchester at Brookline, or to the Prison keeper in Boston, so as his Master may have both or either again, shall have Forty Shillings Reward, and necessary Charges paid.

It is evident that Stephen Winchester was not paying for this at a modern want-ad rate per word. It is also apparent, one suspects, that the horse is a matter of greater concern than the missing servant, though of course the indentured workers were virtually in the position of slaves, until their time was served. The master *owned* his servant's time, and Stephen Winchester was only following the custom of the times when he advertised to procure the man's arrest, whether the horse had been stolen or not.

To list the Winchester participation in town affairs would require an extensive appendix in tabular form. At meeting after meeting, two or three men of that name are elected to perform various duties, from those of surveyor and assessor, to those of constable and selectman, to say nothing of their service on innumerable committees. One can scarcely help wondering if the town could have been run, without the Winchesters.

THE BOYLSTON FAMILY

Certainly no family of the eighteenth century brought more of distinction to the town of Brookline than did the Boylsons. Dr. Thomas Boylston, first of the name to settle there, was born in Watertown in 1644, the son of Thomas Boylston who came from England in 1635. The doctor participated in the Narragansett Indian war, and in 1665 married Mary Gardner of Brookline, in which town he settled. His son Peter was a signer of the petition for the setting up of Brookline as a separate town.

Of Peter's twelve children several made important contributions to America. Susanna became the wife of John Adams of Braintree, and the mother of John Adams, second president of the United States. She was a woman distinguished for her intellectual accomplishments rather than her devotion to household duties, in a time when education among women was rare

and their place was considered to be thoroughly and emphatically in the home.

Peter's second child was Zabdiel, born in 1680, and himself destined to win fame in the field of medicine. Smallpox had been an unhampered scourge at intervals in the New World since its appearance in the West Indies in 1607. An epidemic had been responsible for wholesale destruction among the Massachusetts Indians shortly before the arrival of the first New England settlers, who were fortunate in finding considerable areas of cleared land with no one to till them.

In 1721 the disease was widespread in Boston. That same year Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, sometime resident in Turkey, introduced into England the practice of inoculation which she had learned among Turkish women. Papers written on the subject by a Dr. Timonious came to the attention of Cotton Mather some five years earlier, and it was in his mind that if an epidemic threatened Boston, this new treatment ought to be tried.

Mather consequently approached Dr. William Douglas and Dr. Del Hond, then leading physicians in Boston, and urged them to use inoculation, which was said to assure recovery of nearly all patients treated, while under the system of allowing the disease to run its course, about a sixth of its victims usually died. Possibly resenting the incursion of a minister into the field of medicine, perhaps merely prejudiced against innovations, these doctors refused to experiment.

Then Dr. Mather went to Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, who listened with interest and determined to try out the treatment. On June 27, 1721, he inoculated himself and two slaves. When the experiment proved successful, he began employing it in his practice.

It was a procedure which required the greatest courage and conviction. The Boston medical men denounced it as dangerous, Benjamin Franklin led the newspapers in asserting that when death resulted after inoculation it was nothing less than murder, and ministers began to preach its violation of divine law. Although Dr. Robey of Cambridge and Dr. Thompson of Roxbury followed Zabdiel Boylston's lead, his situation was fraught with serious danger.



HOUSE ON BOYLSTON STREET OPPOSITE THE OLD RESERVOIR, BUILT BY DR. ZABDIEL BOYLSTON

A populace aroused by misapprehension of the truth concerning the doctor's work, threatened his life, so that he was compelled to attend his patients secretly, by night, and in disguise. Men sought him, they said, to hang him; and an attempt was made to bomb his house, where he lived for two weeks concealed in a secret room.

Nor was the campaign of violence directed against the doctor alone. Cotton Mather had stood staunchly by him, had done much to quiet other ministers in their bitter sermons, and had encouraged the inoculation of his own nephew, ten-year-old Nathaniel Walter. *The Boston News-Letter* for November 13-20, 1721, reports 'a late Awful and Tremendous Occurrence fallen out in Boston,' where young Walter was lodging at Mather's house

under the *Small Pox*, received and managed in the way of *Inoculation*. Towards Three of the Clock in the Night, as it grew towards the Morning of Tuesday the Fourteenth of this Instant November, some unknown Hands threw a Fired Grenado into the Chamber of the Sick Gentleman: The weight whereof alone, if it had fallen upon the Head of the Patient (which it seemed aimed at) would have been enough to have done part of the business designed. But the Granado was charged with Combustible matter, and in such a manner, that upon its going off, it must probably have killed the Persons in the Room, and would have certainly fired the Chamber & soon have laid the House in Ashes; which has appear'd Incontestible to them that have since Examined it. But the Merciful Providence of GOD so ordered it, that the Granado passing thro. the Window, had by the Iron in the middle of the Casement, such a Turn given to it, that in falling on the Floor, the Fired Wild-Fire in the Fuse was violently shaken out some Distance from the Shell, and burnt out upon the Floor, without firing the Granado. When the Granado was taken up, there was found a Paper so tied with a Thread about the Fuse, that it might outlive the breaking of the Shell; wherein were these words: '*Cotton Mather I was once of your meeting; But the Cursed Lye you told of... you know who; made me leave you, you Dog, and Damn you. I will enoculate you with this, with a Pox to you.*' This is the Sum of the matter, without any Remarks upon it.

With all this opposition, Dr. Boylston inoculated 286 persons in the course of the year, of whom only six died, while of 5759 smallpox victims who had the usual treatment, 844 succumbed. The mortality was approximately 2.1 per cent under inoculation, and 14.6 per cent under conventional care.

Even such a demonstration, however, did not at once terminate the opposition, but Dr. Boylston's accounts of his work brought him an invitation from Sir Hans Sloane, physician to George I, to describe his methods to London doctors. He had actually preceded the English medical men in making practical use of the Turkish discovery, and in recognition of his achievement was made a Fellow of the Royal Society. After a year and a half, he returned to his home in Brookline, and on retiring from the practice of medicine devoted himself to farm life and the breeding of fine animals, especially horses, which he trained and rode himself even when he was well past eighty. Before his death at the age of eighty-seven, inoculation for smallpox was in general use.

Thomas Boylston, a brother of Zabdiel, had a son named Thomas who became a wealthy London merchant and a benefactor of Boston, and a daughter whose son became Admiral Sir Benjamin Hallowell. Another of her sons retained his mother's name from choice, and as Ward Nicholas Boylston gained a fortune in London, before returning to make his home in Roxbury and later in Princeton. He was a generous donor to Harvard College and the Boylston Medical Society and Library.

There was another Thomas Boylston, son of another of Zabdiel's brothers, who endowed a professorship at Harvard, and sought unsuccessfully to provide for an eventual gift of the old Brookline homestead to the First Church there.

Dudley Boylston, still another of Peter's dozen children, was born about 1688, and became the husband of Elizabeth Gardner of Brookline. His home came into the hands of his son Joshua, who remained a bachelor until he was nearly 55. He was a member of the Board of Selectmen in 1783, and attended their annual dinner at the Punch Bowl Tavern. Eleazer Baker was landlord, and had the assistance of his sister Abigail, an alert, competent woman of forty or thereabouts.

Miss Harriet F. Woods relates that Mr. Boylston was asked

why he had never married, and replied that he could find no one who would have him. Then Abigail Baker spoke up and said *she* would have him, and on her assurance that she meant it, he told Squire Sharp to publish the bans the next Sunday morning. The squire passed the matter off as a joke, was severely criticized by bachelor Boylston, and attended then to this duty. The wedding was duly celebrated at seven o'clock of a Monday morning in Parson Jackson's 'best fore-room,' after some slight delay due to the groom's failure to obtain the necessary certificate, and the union appears to have been a successful one.

THE CLARK FAMILY

James Clark is described as 'of Muddy River' in 1669, although his settling there is not accounted for. His son, Samuel Clark, born in 1654, was a wheelwright, and as a young man a participant, with his unfortunate neighbor, Robert Sharp, in the Canadian expedition of 1690.

Samuel's son, Samuel, was a carpenter, builder of Brookline's first meeting-house, and a deacon in the church. The elder Samuel was a surveyor of highways in 1696, and the younger was chosen clerk of the market in 1760, marking the beginning of modest public services.

A third Samuel died before he was forty, but left a son of that name who remained a resident of Brookline, although his mother seems to have married and removed to the town of Ward. This fourth Samuel Clark became a deacon in the church, and the father of Deacon Joshua, Caleb, and Samuel Clark, the fifth. When he died in 1814, his Brookline home passed to Caleb Clark who, as field driver and surveyor of highways, carried on some of the work of his ancestors.

This, then, was one of the sturdy, necessary families of the century, perhaps less in the public eye than some of their neighbors, but immensely useful to the community.

THE GODDARD FAMILY

The Goddards were another family who maintained a long tradition of public service in Brookline. Their most conspicuous part, however, was played in the Revolutionary War.

Genealogical research has traced the name back to the time of the Norman Conquest. The first Goddard in America was William, a London grocer, who came to Boston in 1665, and soon afterward settled with his wife and three sons in Watertown, where he served as a teacher. It was his second son, Joseph, born in London in 1655, who married Deborah Treadway, and in 1680 made his home in Brookline, where he bought the property of William Marean, son of Dorman Marean, who was one of the original grantees of Muddy River.

Joseph Goddard had a son John, and a grandson of the same name who was born in 1730, and rendered extraordinary services to the patriot cause in 1775 and afterward. For a long time he appeared to be a sort of perennial moderator of the town meeting. This man's eldest son, also named John, was born in 1756, and became a doctor, but on account of the state of his health determined to go into business as an apothecary. This notably un-military pursuit was the means of involving him in a long train of troubled adventure. After the Revolution he became a citizen of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he attained such standing that he was elected Governor of the State, and one of its senators at Washington, but he declined both offices. Two of his sons became Swedenborgian ministers, and a grandson named Warren Goddard followed that calling in Brookline.

Another son of the John Goddard who was so useful to General Washington was Joseph, who succeeded his father as a Brookline farmer. He married Mary Aspinwall and had twelve children, one of whom, Samuel Aspinwall Goddard, became a naturalized British subject, and during the Civil War rendered singular service in helping to make known in England the reasons against British recognition of the Confederacy. Joseph Goddard was for many years a justice of the peace, and, like his ancestors, he served the community by performing a variety of public tasks.

Joseph's brother Benjamin, born in 1766 in the homestead on Goddard Avenue, was the author of an instructively detailed diary covering the years from 1812 to 1854. Although the entries are not strictly within the period of this chapter, they provide, nevertheless, so excellent a picture of the domestic

life of the time that it is impossible not to quote. The preparations for winter in a prosperous farming community may be taken as typical of every well-ordered Brookline home of the eighteenth century. Thus, on October 24:

The autumn thus far has been remarkable favorable for the ingathering of the harvest. The ground very dry and springs low — most people are forward in their work — we finished digging potatoes 16 inst., and have now gathered nearly all the apples, — have barrellled 100 bbls, some more gathered but for want of bbls are in heaps, have already made 34 bbls cider — mostly for vinegar. — Gathered the garden vegetables excepting Turnips, Cabbages — Parsnips and Cellery, — all these will yet improve. Have concluded to let the corn stand a while longer, the stalk not being sufficiently dry, — the quality of the corn is extraordinary fine and the quantity more abundant than usual. On the whole the harvest is great and good in quality.

On November 8.

Took in Cabbages, Cauliflowers Cale & Celery: these finish the harvesting for this season excepting three cheeses of cider to make, — the corn all husked and housed — the Potatoes in the cellar and sold, Apples in barrels and at least half sold and delivered — so we are nearly ready for winter — Soap and apple sauce made for the season — good luck attended both excepting the first kettle which was drove with so much zeal as to get a little burned at the bottom, but like other misfortunes it produced good, for the next was managed with caution and care and it proved good.

An entry for December 12 reads:

Very good weather for business — Myself taking care of home an employment very pleasant at this season as it requires but little manual labor and is fraught with many delights. The Barn, the Granary and the Cellar being stored with the productions of the Farm by the labor of Man and beast, the most delightful part of the whole is dealing out daily portions as their necessities shall require, — at the same time seeing them fatten upon the proceeds of their own industry.

Such a picture of rural opulence is fairly characteristic of the

prosperous farming community of the time. An abundance of hard manual labor performed as a matter of course, and a spectacle of overflowing cellar and barns not surpassed by Washington Irving's description in the 'Legend of Sleepy Hollow,' to comfort the prospect of winter. And some of Benjamin Goddard's winter entries reveal a measure of his domestic resources.

On January 14 and 15, 1812, he

Assisted in killing a hog — a noble fellow — wg 402 lbs.

Cut up the said hog — separated the parts — for salting, for sausages, for bacon, for lard, for *souce*, for steaks, for roasting, etc., and for lard, besides the rind for sore feet and refining coffee.

Two days later Mr. Goddard was

At home the forenoon salting pork. In the house the sausage making going on systematically — Aunt [White?], her Journey woman, and three apprentices all engaged with the axe, the large knife, chopping knives and Mortar & Pestle. — Many hands make light work and it was soon done in the neatest manner, etc.

Whether from instinctive aversion to participation in political matters, or because of his unicentric devotion to husbandry, Benjamin Goddard throughout his life consistently declined public office, though he possessed wide personal influence in the community. His brothers, Nathaniel and William, became prosperous Boston merchants, and Nathaniel's recollections provide an interesting contemporary view of Brookline's part in the Revolutionary War. It may be appropriate here to elaborate our picture of the domestic economy of the time with a description by Nathaniel Goddard:

I do not recollect there being more than one female assistant at one time in the house, unless when there was a nurse and sometimes a washerwoman one day in the week.... In those days they baked all their bread, brewed their own beer, made their own soap, did all their sewing except making some new garments, knit their own stockings if they wore any, and often spun their own yarn, making the cloth for their shirts and sheets and even pocket handkerchiefs. The sleeved jackets and trousers were manufactured in the same

family way; in making pocket handkerchiefs, the white linen was first made, though not very fine, and handed to the children, who tied up shot fancifully in it, and then dyed in the dye-pot in the corner of the fireplace; when done, washed and dried, we untied the shot, and behold the beautiful white rings made by the strings around the shot through which the dye did not penetrate; to make the checked and striped shirts the colored part was died in the same pot.

Those were days of self-sufficiency in the home, and the Goddard household can scarcely have differed in any large way from the others of the community. The very character of that life goes far to explain the political expressions that arose out of it, for intimate dependence upon the land and its products gives rise to a passionate love of the land, and a determination to defend its possession.

THE DAVIS FAMILY

The first Davises of the Brookline family were immigrants from Wales, who settled in Roxbury late in the seventeenth century. Ebenezer Davis, a blacksmith by trade, bought ninety-five acres of Brookline land from Thomas Cotton for £4500 in 1746. His sister, Rachel, who had been his housekeeper at the age of thirteen when they were orphaned, married Moses White of Brookline, while Moses White's sister became the bride of Ebenezer Davis.

Deacon Davis was a more than ordinarily skillful farmer, renowned for his fruit, and especially distinguished by an experiment which, in a way, immortalized him. He grew the first musk-melons to appear on the Boston market, and subsequently had his portrait painted with a melon under his arm. The picture was displayed in England with the title, 'An American Farmer.'

A source of numerous anecdotes, some of which Miss Woods relates, was his slave, actually named Sambo. When Deacon Davis died in 1776, a codicil to his will gave Sambo his freedom, but the Negro in fact remained attached to Ebenezer Davis the son and Ebenezer Davis the grandson.

Almost from the time of his moving to Brookline, Ebenezer Davis began to take part in town affairs, and throughout the

century may be traced the participation of the men of that name, who held at one time or another nearly every important position in the local government.

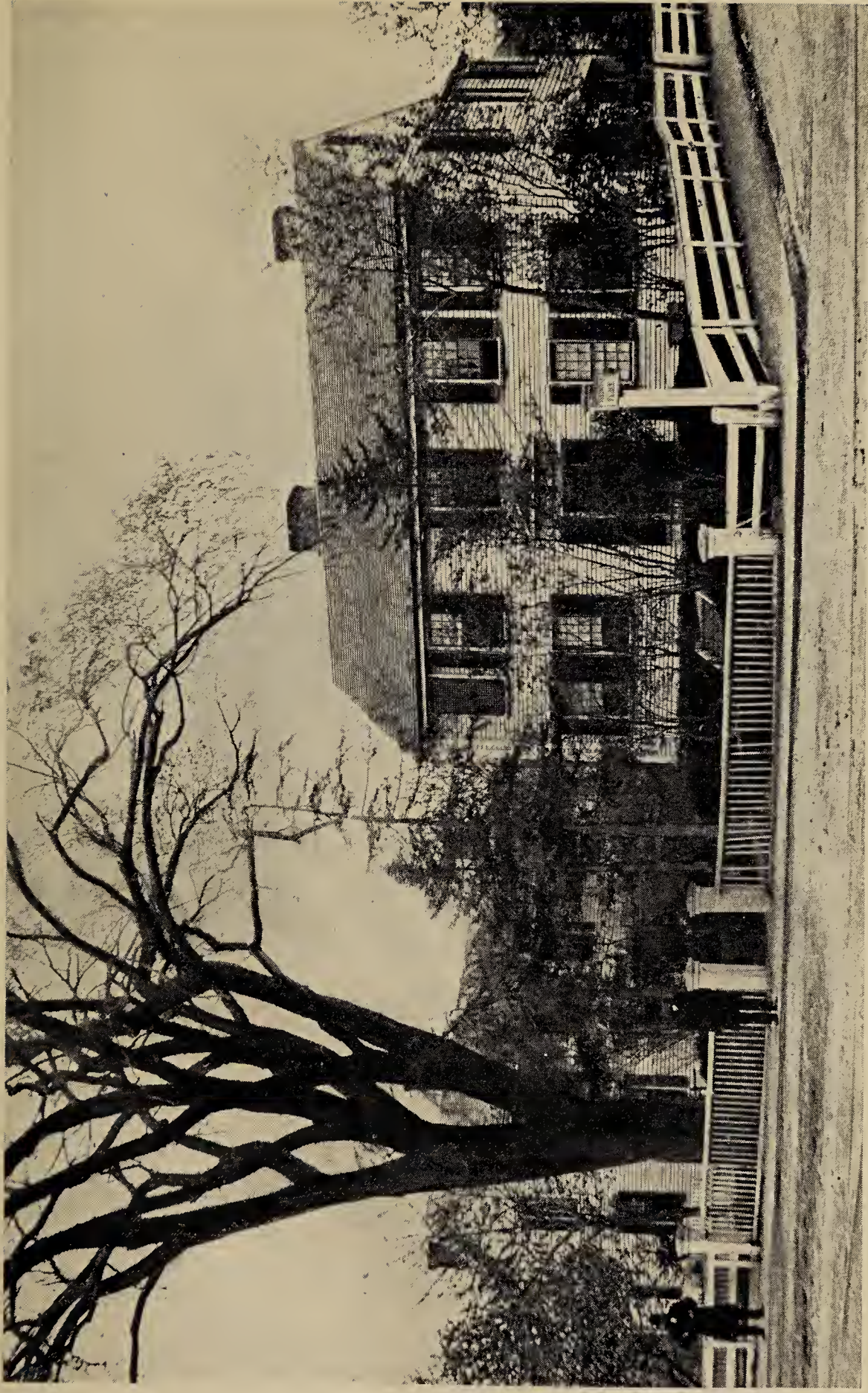
JEREMIAH GRIDLEY

The only member of his family to reside in Brookline, and that not for many years, Jeremiah Gridley left a personal record so significant that he cannot go unmentioned among the great families of the town. The descendant of Richard Gridley, who was made a freeman of Boston in 1634, he was probably a widower rather than, as reputed, a bachelor, when he moved to Brookline in 1755, or a little earlier.

There he bought the house on the Sherburne road opposite the site of the present First Parish Church, which Nathaniel Gardner had built in 1740 after his disastrous loss by fire. This dwelling had come into the hands of Deacon Benjamin White, and then into those of Mr. Gridley, passing after his death to Henry Hulton.

Jeremiah Gridley was a lawyer of distinction, sometimes called the father of the Massachusetts Bar. Preaching that the study of law was more important by far than its gain, he rendered able services and died insolvent. He examined Samuel Quincy and John Adams for admission to the bar, and in his office were trained such lawyers as James Otis, Oxenbridge Thatcher, William Cushing, and Benjamin Prat, later chief justice of New York.

As often, during his term of residence, as Brookline sent a representative to the General Court, it was Jeremiah Gridley. He argued, as government counsel, in favor of the legality of the offensive Writs of Assistance, and carried his point against the brilliant oratory of Oxenbridge Thatcher and James Otis. On this account there were those who charged him with Tory sympathies, but the fact seems to have been simply that, as an honest lawyer, Gridley thought the writs had a sufficient legal foundation. After the passage of the Stamp Act, he was one of a committee chosen by the people of Boston, with James Otis and John Adams, to petition the governor and council 'that the courts of law in this province be opened.' In this is evidence that he still enjoyed the confidence of the people.



THE BENJAMIN DAVIS HOUSE, HARVARD SQUARE, CORNER OF DAVIS AVENUE

Built about 1760; taken down about 1864

He was active in the formation of the Boston Marine Society to protect the interests of shipmasters and merchants. Finding time for effective work in still another direction, in 1755 he was made Grand Master of Masons for North America. In that capacity, during the next twelve years, he chartered twenty-two new lodges, from Cape Breton Island to Barbados and Dutch Guiana, the last-named apparently a little out of his geographical jurisdiction.

Many times moderator of the Brookline town meeting, he is last mentioned there in the summer of 1767. His death in September of that year was recorded in the *Boston Gazette*, and with his passing, the family name vanished from the town.

THE COREY FAMILY

From Weston, just before the Revolution, came Captain Timothy Corey, son of Isaac Corey. He married Elizabeth Griggs, and bought land of the Isaac Winchester estate and Major Edward White's estate, on Washington Street. He campaigned vigorously in the war for independence, and experienced the severest hardships, but surmounted them to die at the age of sixty-nine in 1811. He was considered an old man when he became a Mason, having followed his son Elijah into the order on the theory that no son of his should know more than he did.

Like the Winchesters, the Coreys were attracted to the preaching of the 'New Lights' and associated themselves with that group. Timothy's sons, Elijah and Timothy, both eventually became Baptist deacons.

This second Timothy also had military inclinations as a young man, and was a captain of militia in the War of 1812. The family were primarily devoted to farming, however, in which they were notably successful even in a community of good farmers, and the estate which finally covered Corey Hill was testimony to their competence.

THE HYSLOP FAMILY

William Hyslop was a Scotch peddler who made good, became a wealthy merchant, and purchased the old home of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston on the latter's death, not long before the Revo-

lution. He had sons William and David, and a daughter Elizabeth, in addition to which he adopted Mehitable Abercrombie, the daughter of a widowed Scotch clergyman.

Although he was a merchant, and engaged in importing, Mr. Hyslop was made a member, in 1767, of the 'Committee to prepare a form for Subscription against Receiving of those European Superfluities,' and after the war a meeting of January 4, 1793 voted that the town, 'Sensibly imprest with the great obligations they are under to William Hyslop Esquire, for his generous Donation for the purpose of Building a School House in said Town for the Incouragement and promotion of Learning among the Youth of the Rising Generation, Sincerely Return him their thanks.' In the interim, however, Mr. Hyslop had been under suspicion.

He had gone abroad on business shortly before hostilities commenced, and was unable to return until 1779, and it was rumored that his conduct had not been all that the conduct of a patriot should be. However, everything seems to have been discussed in detail and explained satisfactorily, for on the last day of the year mentioned, it was voted 'that the Town approve & Justifie their Committee Respecting their Proceedings with William Hyslop Esq'r' and, about two weeks later, 'that this Town is Satisfied Respecting Mr. Hyslops Residence in great Briton & with the manner of his return,' but 'that the Town is Dissatisfied with Mr. Hyslops Conduct Towards the Committee Scince his return.' Of what that objectionable conduct consisted, there seems to be no record. Possibly Mr. Hyslop thought the committee asked too many questions, and grew impatient.

His son, David, somewhat warped in body and mind, was long a town character, noted for his aversion to all forms of music, particularly the anthems, which he called 'tantrums,' sung in church. Miss Woods records several anecdotes relating to him, and describes particularly his passion for collecting odd bits of iron and hiding them in what he called his 'iron 'tudy.' According to her account, John Adams, as an old man, was desirous of seeing once more his mother's childhood home, the old Boylston place, and Mr. Hyslop accordingly arranged a dinner party. The aged ex-president gave a slightly different

version when he wrote, in 1820, to 'My dear cousin Boylston' that 'Mr. David Hyslop has been importuning me for seven years to dine with him in Brookline.'

Anyhow the affair came off, and seems to have marked the social climax of the Hyslop family, of which the last male member, David, died two years later.

THE HEATH FAMILY

The Heaths did not become permanently identified with Brookline until after the Revolution, when John Heath, of Roxbury, purchased the confiscated Sewall property, although he had already lived there as a tenant for some years, and was a Brookline fence-viewer as early as 1762. He had married, in 1758, Susannah Craft, granddaughter of Samuel White, whose home this had formerly been. By 1786 he was the owner of some tenpatches of real estate in Brookline.

John Heath was the cousin of General William Heath, and had enlisted in the regiment which the latter commanded as colonel, at the beginning of the war. He played a busy part in the campaign, and, like the general, brought credit to the family name.

Three of John's children grew to maturity, Susannah, Ebenezer, and Elizabeth, called Betsey. The last-named, like the general and some other members of the family in subsequent generations, had a habit of diary-keeping which has resulted in the preservation of some vivid, first-hand accounts of the social life of the times. When sister Susannah married Dr. John Goddard, of Portsmouth, Betsey described the whole affair. This was in 1783.

Doct. Goddard set out from Portsmouth Monday June 2nd, got to boston the next morning, bought his wedding Cloaths, left them to be made, got here to dinner....

June 4, Mrs. Cheany of Roxbury was sent for by Sunrise in the morning. came here, made two sorts of Cake, loaf Cake and pound Cake very good indeed....

June 5, Thursday, Doct. John Goddard and Sukey Heath entered the matrimonial state. The Company that was present was Mr. Jackson and family, Doct. Goddard's Father and Mother, Brothers, and Sisters, my two Uncle

Crafts and their wives were here and Miss betsey Shed. Luck was here with his Violin in the evening. The Bride was drest in a Lilock colored Lute string gownd and coat....

Sunday June 8, went to meeting Bride drest in strip'd Lute string Negligee, three white waving plooms on her hat, &c., wore her new short Polanee's flounced and trimmed with Blue. Monday a very respectable Company was here to drink tea. Judge Sumner's Lady and Mrs. Ruggles, General Heath's Children &c., about Forty in the whole, two Violins here in the evening, danced till two o'clock. They had punce, and wine, cake and chees.

There was, of course, a formal side to this wedding business, too. When John Heath's son, Ebenezer, married in 1790, the notice of intentions, still preserved, was posted on the door of the bride's church:

A MATRIMONIAL CONJOINT

Mr. Ebenezer Heath of Brookline, and Miss Hannah Williams of Roxbury: proposes to quit there present state of celibacy, and pursue the journey through the vale of affection to that extensive tract of troden path of land called matrimony — Whoever hath aught, or impediment against this overture: are requested to exhibit their objections to

Thomas Clarke,
Town Clerk.

Nobody seems to have objected, and Betsey Heath recorded in detail the festivities attending this marriage, too.

John Heath died in the spring of 1804, about two years before the completion of the new meeting-house, to which Ebenezer devoted nearly fifteen months of his time and energy. At the close of the century, this numerous and influential family had scarcely more than taken its place in Brookline, where its representatives have continued to live down to the present day.

SUMMARY

What has been written here of family history is not intended as a genealogical account. The purpose has been rather an identification of the names that were prominent in the town



HOUSE ON CORNER OF WALNUT AND CHESTNUT STREETS
OCCUPIED BY SIX GENERATIONS OF CLARKS
Built about 1715; taken down in 1902



HOUSE BUILT BY EBENEZER HEATH IN 1791
Heath Street near Boylston Street

during the century in which the Revolution culminated, and a fragmentary picture, at least, of the social life of those times.

If something has been conveyed of the matrimonial interweaving of these first families, of their faithful devotion to community affairs, and sometimes to those of wider scope; if the reader is able to derive a kind of composite picture of the town and its leading citizens, then this chapter will have accomplished all that can be expected of it. Much of it will lack interest except for those whose ancestors were personally concerned, and even such readers will, in most instances, be obliged to consult more specialized works for adequate family histories.

The purpose has been to give enough of such data for orientation, without including enough to become too involved.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

FIRST RUMBLES

THE distant, preliminary thunders of the Revolution might have been heard in the Brookline town meeting as early as 1772. British officials in America caught their reverberations several years before. That, of course, was not unnatural, for by the time such matters have found their way into the public records, a long period of general discussion has been simmered down to the formal resolutions of a deliberative assembly.

Perhaps the gradual elimination of the 'redcoats' from our school histories may be taken as a symbol of the growing inclination to take our history as it is, rather than to insist on having it written as we would like it to be. After a hundred and fifty years, at any rate, it is not so difficult to admit that some of the patriots were a very trying lot, and that many of the British administrators were sincere and able men attempting to do the undoable — or, as a colored philosopher has put it, 'to onscrew de onscrutable.' Certainly it is worth while to endeavor to get both viewpoints as they found expression in Brookline.

If this chapter seems to abound with quotations from the records of the times with which we are dealing, it is only because those accounts are so pertinent and so alive that they cannot be overlooked, and it seems unfair to sap their vitality by paraphrasing. Thus, there are the delightful letters of Miss Anne Hulton, sister of Henry Hulton, who was Commissioner of Customs in Boston, and a resident of Brookline during the troublous years before the Revolution burst into flame.¹

THE UNWELCOME CUSTOMS COMMISSIONERS

Miss Hulton had followed her brother over, and in writing to an ever-helpful friend in England, explains that he had a

¹ *Letters of a Loyalist Lady: Being the Letters of Anne Hulton, sister of Henry Hulton, Commissioner of Customs at Boston, 1767-1776; Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1927.*

good voyage (only five weeks), and arrived in Boston on June 5, 1768. But there was trouble from the very beginning. In the same letter Anne Hulton writes:

You will be surprized to hear how we were obliged to fly from the Place [Boston] in six Days after & take Refuge on board the Romney Man of War lying in Boston Harbour. M^{rs} Burch at whose house I was, had frequently been alarm^d with the Sons of Liberty surround^g her house with most hideous howlings as the Indians, when they attack an Enemy, to many insults & outrages She had been exposed since her arrival, & threaten^d with greater voilences. She had removed her most valuable Effects & held herself in readiness to depart at an hours notice. The Occasion soon happen^d, when my Sister & I accompany^d her at 10 oClock at night to a Nieghbours house, not apprehend^g much danger, but we soon found that the Mobs here are very different from those in O^r England where a few lights put into the Windows will pacify, or the interposition of a Magistrate restrain them, but here they act from principle & under Countenance, no person daring or willing to suppress their Outrages, or to punish the most notorious Offenders for any Crimes whatever, These Sons of Voilence after attacking Houses, break^g Window, beating, Stoning & bruizing several Gentlemen belong^g to the Customs, the Collector mortally, & burning his boat, They consult^d what was to be done next, & it was agreed to retire for the night, All was ended wth a Speech from one of the Leaders, conclud^g thus, 'We will defend our Liberties & property, by the Strength of our Arm & the help of our God, to your Tents O Israel.' This is a Specimen of the Sons of Liberty, of whom no doubt you have heard, & will hear more.

The next Day the Commiss^{rs} had sufficient notice of their danger & the Plots against them, All their friends Advised em to retire to a more secure place, the Governor particularly telling em it was not in his power to protect em.

With things in such a state, Hulton and his household withdrew to the man-of-war *Romney*, lying in Boston harbor, and shortly thereafter the entire company of some fifty British government servants found quarters in Castle William, a fortification on one of the glacial drumlin islands of the harbor.

^r Abbreviation for Old as distinguished from New England.

The terror had begun early for them. There was, of course, a certain measure of imposition on the colonists, real or fancied. At any rate, they were incensed against any and all officers sent as tax collectors. There was also propaganda, and it is deplorable to record that it appears to have been much more elaborately conceived on the part of the patriots than on the part of British government sympathizers.

AMERICAN SOCIETY CRITICIZED

If one considers the situation in a dramatic light, and endeavors to substitute for some of the familiar actors, his own neighbors, it will be easier to see just how minds worked. Anne Hulton, taking the aristocratic point of view, was of course excessively critical. She did see the good in the new world, and she liked it in a generous-hearted way, but she felt that in its social set-up it was deplorably wrong.

From the inherent Republican, & levelling principles [she wrote], heres no subordination in the Society. Government is extirpated, & it is quite a State of Anarchy. There are some sensible & good people that are greatly alarmed at their impend^g fate....

It is easy to say that Miss Hulton was prejudiced. But as one reads her letters, it is even easier to perceive that she wrote from entire sincerity, for the edification of her correspondent in England, and that she reported what might be called the 'official' point of view.

The Credulity of the Common people here [she wrote] is imposed on by a number of Lies raised to irritate & inflame them. The believe that the Commiss^{rs} have an unlimited power given to tax even their Lands, & that its in order to raise a Revenue, for support^g a Number of Bishops that are coming over &c they are inspired with an enthusiastic Rage for defend^g their Religion & liberties. every Officer of the Crown that does his duty is become obnoxious, & they must either fly or be sacrificed, the Attacks were always in the dark, several hundreds against one Man, & theres great Reason to believe that the Lives of some in particular was aim^d at,...



GRIDLEY-HULTON HOUSE, WALNUT AND WARREN STREETS (1740-1886)
Residence of Jeremy Gridley and of Henry Hulton, king's tax commissioner

The relator of all these experiences asserted that though her brother was in danger, it was not because he was personally disliked, but merely because he was hated in his official capacity. When at last he and his family found it safe to land in Boston, they discovered that no patriot owning a suitable house there would rent it to them, and Henry Hulton was obliged to buy a country place several miles out — as it happened, at 'Brooklyne near Boston.'¹

THE HULTONS IN BROOKLINE

Here he introduced a number of horticultural innovations to New England. At a time when little attention was given to the raising of cabbages and other common green vegetables, and, according to Anne Hulton, 'All Greens & roots are call'd by the name of Sause,' the Commissioner erected a greenhouse. There he raised fine celery, planned to try artichokes and broccoli, and started early plants for his garden. He set out what was reckoned the finest orchard in the province, and in other ways proceeded on the apparent assumption that he might spend the rest of his days there.

But some of the colonists were most inhospitable. It should be said for the people of Brookline that they appear to have been neighborly and well-behaved toward the Hultons, whether they were in sympathy with the loyalist group or not. Thus, when a mob threatened the Commissioner's home one night, Brookline neighbors were ready to help the victim get to the bottom of the plot. Anne's account of the affair is far too vivid and dramatic to be summed up in other words.

Between 12 & 1 o'Clock [on the night of June 19, 1770] he was wake'd by a knocking at the Door, he got up, enquired the person's name and business, who said he had a letter to deliver to him, w^{ch} came Express from New York. My Bro^r puts on his Cloaths, takes his drawn Sword in one hand, & open'd the Parlor window wth the other. The Man ask'd for a Lodging — said he, I'll not open my door, but give me the letter. The man then put his hand, attempting to push up the window, upon w^{ch} my Bro^r hastily clap'd it down, instantly wth a bludgeon several violent blows were

¹ The location may be found on the map on the end-papers of this volume.

struck w^{ch} broke the Sash, Glass & frame to pieces. The first blow aimed at my Bro^r Head, he Providentially escaped, by its resting on the middle frame, being double, at same time (tho' before then, no noise or appearance of more Persons than one) the lower windows, all round the Hóuse (excepting two) were broke in like manner. My Bro^r stood in amazement for a Min^t or 2, & having no doubt that a number of Men had broke in on several sides of the House, he retired Upstairs.

You will believe the whole Family was soon alarm'd, but the horrible Noises from without, & the terrible shrieks within the House from Mrs. H: & Servants w^{ch} struck my Ears on awaking, I can't describe, & shall never forget.

I cou'd imagine nothing less than that the House was beating down, after many violent blows on the Walls & windows, most hideous Shouting, dreadful imprecations, & threats ensued. Struck with terror & astonishment, what to do I knew not, but got on some Cloaths, & went to M^{rs} H: room, where I found the Family collected, a Stone thrown in at her window narrowly miss^d her head. When the Ruffians were retreating with loud huzza's & one cry'd he will fire, — no says another, he darn't fire, we will come again says a third — M^r and M^{rs} H: left their House immediately & have not lodged a night since in it.

The next day we were looking up all the Pockit Pistols in the house some of w^{ch} were put by, that nobody could find 'em & ignorant of any being charged, Kitty was very near shooting her Mistress, inadvertently lets it off. the bullets miss'd her within an inch & fixed in a Chest of Drawers. here was another miraculous escape, so that we have reason to be thankful, we are all safe & well, tho' truly Prisoners in a Castle, the old place of refuge.

THE POWER OF PUBLIC OPINION

Some Brookline friends told Mr. Hulton that they had been out fishing that night, and had met a gang of suspicious characters on the road, who inquired the way to his home. A little investigation seems to have been leading in the right direction, when those who would have helped Mr. Hulton were convincingly warned that discretion would be the wiser course. Efforts to identify the guilty ones were thereupon dropped.

Meanwhile the report was freely circulated that the victim had arranged the attack himself, either because he was desirous of being called back to England, or for some other reason. In another letter his sister wrote:

It may seem strange, but I believe its very true, that the Sunday after my Bro^r was attackd in his own House, wth an apparent design upon his Life, after we were gone to the Castle — D^r Ch—cy preached a Sermon on that occasion & told his people plainly out of the Pulpit, that the Commiss^r broke his own windows, to cast an odium on the Country & the next day this Rev D^r went all about, impress^g this opinion on the People, & however ridiculous it may seem, it was actually believed by two thirds of the People in Boston, Untill those of our Township of their own accord, exerted 'emselves to bring the matter to light, [and brought] Several Evidences before a Justice of Peace, who swore to meeting the Villains disguised upon the Road & that they enquired the way to M^r H: house, nay the Evidences went so far as naming particular persons upon which they were Stop'd & privately threatened that if they proceeded further in Information they sho'd suffer, so there the enquiry ended.

Another version of the affair was simply that some Brookline boys stoned Hulton's windows. In any event, there was little fun in the life of a Commissioner of Customs in those days, even when one owned a flourishing farm in the charming village of Brookline. Henry Hulton was undoubtedly a man of business ability and of the highest integrity, and one gathers that he was probably also an interesting and stimulating companion — altogether a very worthy and satisfactory sort of person. But he had been sent to collect some taxes which the people had determined not to pay; he symbolized a cause of revolt, and for his conscientious devotion to duty he sacrificed his domestic security, his comfortable Brookline home, and almost his life.

DISTANT THUNDERS IN THE TOWN MEETING

Perhaps the simplest description of a town meeting would be to say that it is an assembly of citizens whose purpose is to talk over current events in the community and *do something*

about them. Such a meeting must reflect the conversation of domestic fireside, crossroads, and tavern. Its records will provide, too, a graphic picture of the economic conditions prevailing from year to year, through the reports on sums to be raised for various purposes, and on the difficulties of tax collections.

At this place we are concerned with two principal aspects of the meetings: their resolutions with respect to tax matters and means of co-operation with other towns in resisting objectionable taxes; and the inflation of the colonial currency as reflected in increasing bounties for enlistments, and in special appropriations for the minister. One might with intimate study and some excusable deduction, draw from the records of the Brookline town meeting alone a fairly comprehensive picture of the social and economic aspects of the Revolution, though the military story would be meager.

In these unpromising pages one may view that war as the average citizen of the times viewed it. Here is the first-hand account of a growing consciousness of oppression and of the steps, one by one, which a resentful citizenry felt were necessary to oppose it.

As early as December 17, 1767, the meeting unanimously '*Voted*, That the town should take all prudent, and legal measures... to discourage the use of European superfluities.' These included, particularly, glass and tea which were subject to an English tax.

Under the date of September 14, 1768, the selectmen of Boston sent out a circular letter reciting 'the melancholly and very alarming Circumstances to which this Province, as well as AMERICA in general, is now reduced.' Taxation without representation was the burden of the complaint, along with the futility of petitions for redress, and the threat of the sending out of British soldiery.

The Design of these Troops [the letter continued] is in everyone's Apprehension nothing short of Enforcing by military Power the Execution of Acts of Parliament in the forming of which the Colonies have not, and cannot have any constitutional Influence. This is one of the greatest Distresses to which a free People can be reduced....

Deprived of the Councils of a General Assembly in this dark and difficult Session, the loyal people of this Province, will, we are persuaded, immediately perceive the Propriety and Utility of the proposed Committee of Convention: And the sound and *wholesome Advice* that may be expected from a *Number of Gentlemen* chosen by themselves, and in whom they may Repose the greatest Confidence, must tend to the real Service of our Gracious Sovereign; and the Welfare of his Subjects in this Province; and may happily prevent any sudden and unconnected Measures, which in their present Anxiety, and even Agony of Mind, they may be in Danger of falling into.

This communication, wherein so much may be read between the lines, proposed a meeting in Boston on September 22. The inhabitants of Brookline assembled on September 21 solely to deal with the matter, and 'Voted To Choose a Committee man to Joine the Committee from the Several Towns at Faneuil Hall.' They also 'Voted that Capt. Benjam. White be the Committee man,' and thereupon adjourned.

The 'Committee of Convention' which met the next day was the practical result of Governor Bernard's refusal to convene the General Court. It was sought to make the convention resemble as closely as possible a regular meeting of the General Court, and many towns chose as delegates their regular representatives.

Accomplishments of the convention, however, were negligible. It composed two petitions to the Governor to call the Assembly, wrote a letter to the colony's agent in England, and prepared a set of resolutions.

SERIOUS REMONSTRANCE

The town meeting of December 11, 1772, chose a committee 'to take under Consideration, the Violations & Infringements of the Rights of the Colonists & of this Province in particular; and make Report at the Adjournment of Said Meeting.' To these duties of the committee, which was made a standing committee, were added the obligations of communication and correspondence 'with the Town of Boston & any other Towns on the Subject of our Present Difficulties.'

Already there was enough concern to make frequent town meetings desirable, and adjournments were not, as usually, without a day. The one just mentioned set December 28 for its reassembly, and then passed unanimously a resolution of the highest importance, based upon the report of the committee previously appointed. The town:

1t. Voted that the Rights of the Colonists, and this Province in particular as men as Chrystians, & as Subjects, as Set forth in the Said Votes and Proceedings of the Town of Boston, are in the Opinion of this Town well Stated and appear to be founded on ye Laus of Nature Divine Revelation, the British Constitution, and the Charter of this Province

2d. Voted that the Infringement & Violation of those Rights, as also Set forth therein are in the Opinion of this Town great Grievances which this People have for years past been burdened with, and for the Redress of which Petitions & Remonstrances have been made but hitherto in Vain

3d. Voted The Raising a Revennue within this Province by an assumed Power in the Brittische House of Commons, to give and grant our Money without our Consent & appropriating the Money so Raised for the Support of the Government of the Province and the Payment of the Charges of the Administration of Justice therein so repugnant to the first Principles of a free Constitution and the obvious meaning & Spirit of the Royal Charter of this Province

4th. Voted that an Establishment for the Support of the Governor of the Province, and the Judges of the Superior Court, &c. (if the latter be already made as we have Just reason to apprehend) to be paid out the Monies raised as aforesaid, independent of the free Gifts and Grants of the Commons of this Province are in the Opinion of this Town leading and alarming Steps towards rendering the whole executive Power independent, of the People, and setting up an despotic Government in the Province.

5th. Voted that the Representative of this Town be and hereby is instructed to exert his utmost Powers and Abilities in the General Assembly with constant Perseverance in promoting such Measures there as will [tend] speedily and effectually to Remove these and other intolerable Grievances enumerated in the aforesaid Votes and Proceedings of the Town of Boston

6th. Voted that the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Town of Boston in thus clearly stating our Rights, and holding up so many of our Grievances in one View, have done an acceptable Service to this Town and Province and that the sincere & hearty Thanks of this Town be hereby given to them therefore

7th. Voted, that there be Committee now Chosen to Write to the Committee of Correspondence in Boston and communicate to them a true attested Copy of the foregoing Votes, and also further correspond with said Committee of Boston or any other Town if they shall think it needful.

AGAINST 'DESPOTICK MEASURES'

Of the committee thus instructed, in whose hands rested the expression of Brookline's revolutionary spirit and devotion to the general cause, were William Hyslop, Isaac Gardner, Deacon Ebenezer Davis, Captain John White, Isaac Child, John Goddard, and John Harris.

This group acted with little delay. As soon as they had had an opportunity to meet and discuss their responsibilities, they framed this letter to 'the Committee of Communication & Correspondence at Boston.'

Brooklyn January 4, 1773

Gentlemen,

The Freeholders and other Inhabitants of this Town at a meeting Legally assembled upon the 28th of Decem'r last by adjournment, having duly considered a Letter from the Town of Boston, directed to the Select Men of this Town, accompanied with a State of the Rights of the Colonies, and of this Province in particular, as also a List of the Infringements of their Rights to be communicated to this Town, take this Opportunity to Return you our hearty and unfeigned Thanks which was Voted by said Town; for the early Care that you took in clearly and Truly Stating our Rights and Priviledges and making manifest the many and glaring Violations and Infringements there of, which if not speedily prevented must inevitably ruin the Constitution of this Province as Settled by the Charter granted by King William and Queen Mary of glorious Memory, and also that this Town think themselves happy in being always ready to add their Mite to wards with-Standing any arbitrary despotick

Measures that are or may be carried on to overthrow the Constitution and deprive us of all our invaluable Rights and Priviledges which are & ought to be as dear or dearer than Life it selfe.

We have inclosed you a Copy of the Votes and Proceedings of the Town so far as we have gone. May he that ruleth in the Kingdom of Men direct all our Counsels, & grant Success to all our Lawful Endeavors, that are or may be taken for the Preservation of the civil & religious Rights & Priviledges, of the Colonies & of this Province in particular. So as that we the Children of so worthy Progenitors may be enabled to transmit to our Children those invaluable Rights & Priviledges, as we had them transmitted to us. they were many times in Trouble on various Accounts, and in their affliction they cryed to God, and he delivered them; and if we their Children follow their Example, may depend upon the same Success they had: which God grant may be the Case with us in our Present Difficulties

We wish all Prosperity to the Town of Boston and may unerring Wisdom direct all her Consultations and Counsels.

We are with great Respect, Gentlemen,

Your Friends and Servants,

In the common Cause of our Country,

William Hyslop per Order

Attest Isaac Gardner Town Cler.

Here was a splendid spirit of vigorous co-operation. Here was courageous devotion to an instinctively recognized common cause. Here, perhaps most significant of all, were the words: 'the common Cause of our Country.' In 'our Country' is a consciousness that did not come to unquestioningly loyal colonials in 1773. When the people of Brookline, in town meeting assembled, expressed the views that made it possible for their committee of correspondence to write of 'our Country,' they were pregnant with the public consciousness of a new nation to be born.

But not all the signs and portents were expressed in these resolves, and this correspondence. The wind of revolution was freshening, and there were abundant straws to indicate its direction — significant, however, only if there were those capable of observing the straws, and interested in the direction of the wind.

A SYMBOL OF GRIEVANCE

The meeting of November 26, 1773, added to the now established committee of correspondence, 'Four other gentlemen Viz. Major Wm. Thompson Capt. Elisha Gardner, Capt. Thos. Aspinwall & Lieut. John Heath,' who were 'desired to git all the Intelligence from the Committee of Corrispondence of the Town of Boston Respecting the Landing & Sale of the East India Company's Tea and make Report to the Town at the Adjournment.'

This was a more than normally protracted meeting, for interest must have been at the flood. In fact it was a three-days' meeting; and the principal purpose of its coming together was 'To consider what was propper for this Town to do, relative to the large Quantitys of Tea belonging to the India Company, hourly expected to arrive in this Province, Subject to any American Duty.'

Tea had become a symbol, more than an actual grievance. With the repeal of the Townshend Act in 1770, Boston merchants had at first voted to adhere to their sweeping non-importation agreement so long as even the tax on tea was retained, but less than six months later they reversed their decision. Many were facing business ruin, and their basic patriotism was even questioned by citizens who struggled with the rising cost of living.

There was a demand for English goods, and there were profits to be made in handling those that were untaxed. The merchants had won a virtually complete victory, and the tax on tea was so minor a matter that they felt they could overlook it, rather than see their commerce destroyed.

But there was a vigorous political agitation afoot. Samuel Adams and his radical followers were unrelenting in their efforts, and with the passage of the Tea Act of 1773 they seized upon it as a prime grievance. Now this act, which had been passed to aid the all but bankrupt East India Company, imposed no new duty that had not been paid throughout the years after non-importation was given up. It therefore was not an attempt by Parliament to prove its right to tax the colonies. Nor did it increase the cost of tea to the consumer, but rather cut it in half by the elimination of middlemen. The

act really hurt only the merchants, who resented it as an unfair monopoly.

Fiery oratory inflamed patriotic meetings, however, and it was freely urged that the tea must not be permitted to land, and that none should be imported until the offensive act was repealed. Here, at last, was a symbol which might be used to unite the radical patriots and the conservative merchant class. Propaganda spread rapidly throughout the Province, and effected the expression of a remarkably unanimous opinion.

THE 'TEA SCHEEM'

Any Tory who might have been present at the Brookline town meeting of November 26-29, 1773, must have known that some rascality would soon be afoot. Consider the resolutions:

1st. The Town came unanimously into the following Resolves Viz. That the Act of the British Parliament imposing a Duty on Tea, payable in America, for the Express purpose of raising a Revenue, is unconstitutional, has a direct Tendency to bring the Americans into Slavery, and is therefore an Intolerable Grievance

2^{ly}. That this Grievance which has been so Justly complained of by the Americans, so far from being redressed, is greatly aggravated by another Act, passed in the last Sessions of Parliament for Benifit and Relief of the India Company, permitting them to Export their Teas to America or Forring Parts, free of all custom and Dutyes usually paid in Great Britian, but Subject to the Duty payable in America; thus have the Parliament discovered the most glaring Partiality in making one & the Same Act to opperate for the Ease & Convenience of a Few of the most opulent Subjects in Britian, on the one hand, and for the Oppressions of Millions of Freeborn & moast loyal Inhabitants of America, on the other.

3^{ly}. That the last mentioned Act, can be considered no otherwise than as Subtle Plan of the Ministry to ensnare and enslave the Americans, and that whoever shall be instrumental in carrying the Same into Execution, is in the Judgement of this Towne, an inevitable Enemy to this Country

4^{ly}. That Richard Clark & Son, and Thomas & Elisha Hutchinsons of Boston (who brought themselves into Con-

tempt by their Conduct in the Non Importation Time) and the other Persons appointed Consignees of the India Company's Teas in Boston, have by their repeated Refusal to Resign their Appointment and send send Back the Said Teas manifested to the full conviction of this Town — their utter Disregard to the Interest and welfare of this their native Country, to which Such unfeeling Wretches are a Disgrace and have discovered the most Sordid Attachment to their private Interest, and have incurred the highest Displeasure of the good People of this Province in general, & of the Inhabitants of this Towne in particular who are determined to afford them not the Least Favour or Protection now that they are become Fugitives from the Just Resentment of their affronted Townsmen

5ly. That we fully approve of the Proceedings, & Resolutions of the Town of Boston on this Alarming Occasions and while we see them Earnestly consenting for the general Liberty of America, Should we fold our Armes & Calmly look on we should be justly chargeable with the most shameful Supeness & criminal Neglect — therefore Resolved

6ly. That this Town are ready to afforde all the Assistance in our Power to the Town of Boston, and will hartily unite with them and the Other Towns in this Province to oppose and frustrate this most detestable and dangerous Tea Scheem and every Other that shall Appear to us to be Subversive of the Rights and Liberties of America, and consequently dishonorably to the Crown and Dignity of our Sovereign Lord and King.

7ly. That whoever shall hereafter presume to import any Teas into this Province while Subject to the Odius Duty shall be considered and treated by this Town as an Enemy to his Country.

The situation by this time was sadly complicated. Public sentiment would not permit the landing of the tea. The Governor would not permit the ship to leave without unloading. And the customs officers were preparing to seize the vessel and sell the tea at auction, as they were required to do in the case of ships which remained in the harbor for more than twenty days without formal entry.

It was obvious that some attempt would be made to put the tea ashore. And it was obvious that something radical would

be done to prevent it. Accordingly, the Boston tea party was held, and Brookline may at least be said to have aided and abetted.

NEW GRIEVANCES

The opinion of Boston merchants, and of conservatives generally throughout the province, was that this party was altogether too rowdy. They took the view that it was not unreasonable of the British government to require restitution for such destruction.

But the Committee of Correspondence in Boston was definitely in the hands of Adams and Warren and their adherents. On March 7, 1774, this group addressed a message to the Brookline committee, saying:

We think it our duty to acquaint you that a Brigantine Benjamin Gorham Master is just arrived from London with a quantity of Tea on board liable to a duty: We ask the favor of your Company at the Selectmens Chamber in Boston to-Morrow afternoon 3. OClock in order for a joint consultation, relative to this matter —.

The meeting was evidently held, and evidently was not conciliatory, for the *Massachusetts Gazette* of March 10, 1774, states:

Monday Evening the Tea that arrived in Captain Gorham from London, belonging to some private Persons, was thrown into the Sea, in the same Manner with that of the East India Company's in December last.

The same paper carried an extensive alibi in the form of a communication from the owners of the vessel, explaining that they had issued orders that East India Company's tea was not to be accepted as cargo on any account, and supposed that in doing so they had taken all necessary precautions. But the Bostonians held similar tea parties as often as any importation was attempted, and their disorderly habit in this respect became somewhat discouraging to shipowners and merchants in the tea trade.

There is no denying that the colonials were behaving very badly. The conservative voices among them were for concili-

ation on a basis of letting well enough alone. And the noisier patriots might well have failed to carry general sentiment the other way, but for the excessive harshness of Parliament in meting out exemplary punishment. Even at this stage, the impending storm of revolution might have been averted.

But early in 1774 came the Regulating Act, to destroy the original charter and the town meeting as well; another providing for removal to England of the trials of British officials charged with capital crimes in the administration of their duties; the Quartering Act, which obliged inhabitants of the town to shelter British soldiers then being sent over; a fourth act, which blocked westward expansion, provided government by an appointive legislative council, and gave special rights to Roman Catholics; and, climax of all, the Boston Port Bill. This removed the customs house from Boston to Salem and made it the new capital, while Marblehead was designated to replace Boston as the principal port.

Deluded British statesmanship supposed that town rivalry would bring the rest of the province into league against Boston, and in support of this bill. In fact, it was regarded as the crowning act of a program of coercive legislation which called forth every bit of patriotic loyalty in Massachusetts. If a fight was to be necessary, Massachusetts men would fight shoulder to shoulder.

Accordingly, Brookline, with other towns of the province, began to take account of the state of local defense.

THE SPIRIT OF DEFENSE

The town meeting of July 29, 1774, 'Voted That this Town will unite with the other Towns in this Province in every rational and Justifiable measure to recover and maintain our invaded rights and will come into Such Commercial Agreement, as may be Recommended by the General Congress.'

On the first of September a committee comprising John Goddard, Captain Benjamin White, Major William Thompson, Isaac Child, and Captain Elisha Gardner, was appointed 'to Examine into the state of Said Town as to There Military preparations for War, in case of a Suden attack from our Enemies, and make Report...' This same meeting decided also

to indemnify any town officers who might be penalized in consequence of their refusal to comply with the 'New Acts & Regulations intended to be obtruded on this Province...'

Another meeting, four weeks later, selected Captain Benjamin White as representative to the General Assembly, and appointed a committee to draw up instructions for his guidance. These warned him to give no recognition to the mandamus councilors nor any acknowledgment of

the validity of the late oppressive Acts of Parliament — and as we expect A faithful Adherence to the Charter & Constitution of the Province will soon procure the Dissolution of the House of Representatives we hereby empower you to meet the Deligates from the other Towns in the Province at a provincial Congress to be held at Concord or else where on Tuesday ye 11th of October and in behalf of this Town to act & unite with them in all such measures as shall appeare to you to have a tendency to promote the welfare of this Province and to recover & secure the Just Rights and liberties of America.

Major William Thompson and John Goddard were also chosen as additional delegates to the Provincial Congress.

The fear that Governor Gage would attempt to dissolve the General Court summoned to meet at Salem had reasonable foundation. But Gage was a little disturbed at the temper of the country, and issued an equivocal proclamation excusing the representatives from assembling, and explaining that he would not be present. Having thus missed the opportunity of rendering the assembly clearly unconstitutional, Gage left the situation open for its meeting.

The delegates came together at Salem on October 5, waited a day for the Governor to appear, and then resolved themselves into the Provincial Congress, which adjourned to meet three days later at Concord. There more than twice as many delegates assembled as had been at Salem, and an adjournment to Cambridge was as well attended.

In its sessions, the Congress drafted an address to Gage, objecting to fortifications which they believed showed his disposition to war, despite his assurance that they were for defense. A committee estimated the ordnance and military



OLD GODDARD BARN FROM WHICH MILITARY STORES WERE TRANSPORTED TO CONCORD BY
JOHN GODDARD, APRIL 10, 1775

stores needed by the province, which it was thought would cost over twenty thousand pounds. And to raise funds, a receiver-general for the province was appointed, and tax collectors and sheriffs were advised to pay over to him whatever public funds they held. Thus highly rebellious effect was given to the highly rebellious Suffolk Resolves.

And on November 17, 1774, at a Brookline town meeting, it was 'Voted To see wheither the Town Approve of the Measures that are come into by the Continental Congress and will abide by the same, and it past in the Affermative Unanimously.'

The movement toward organized resistance was under way and gaining momentum, and the spirit of co-operation among the towns of Massachusetts was growing. 'Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Brooklyn Legally Assembled,' on January 1, 1775, 'Voted To afforde Relief to the Town of Boston & Charlestown by Subscription.' They also 'Voted to have a Volenteer Company they to Choose their Officers and each Soldier that will Inlist shall be in titled to four pence as Expençe Money each Evening.'

On second thought it was 'Voted to Reconsider the Vote as to Minute men & their pay & it past in the Negative not to heve any.' This, of course, did not mean that the town was persuaded that a volunteer company was not a very desirable thing; probably considerations of discretion entered, and possibly some thought of the 'Expençe Money.'

But Brookline people were thoroughly in sympathy with the work of the first Provincial Congress, and the town meeting of May 29, 1775, chose Captain Benjamin White as a delegate to the Provincial Congress 'Appointed to be held at Watertown on wednesday ye 31th of this Inst. may & so from time to time for & During ye term of six Months.'

Their co-operation, however, was by no means wholly deliberative. The assembly of supplies, in accordance with the recommendations of the first Provincial Congress, had been going on. For the sake of security it was thought best to gather the stores at an inland point, and as early as March 8, 1775, John Goddard of Brookline began carrying beef and flints, rice, lead and linen, potatoes, flour, and pork to Concord.

These were the supplies which the British authorities thought must be seized if rebellion were to be thwarted, and it was the endeavor to seize them which brought about the first open conflict.

‘THE NINETEENTH OF APRIL IN ’75’¹

On the night of April 18, 1775, eight hundred British grenadiers embarked in boats from the foot of the Common at Charles street. They landed on Phip’s farm, now East Cambridge, and marched through Cambridge to Lexington and Concord. Before daylight of the nineteenth, General Gage had received messages from Col. Smith commanding the expedition that the country was aroused and that reinforcements were urgently needed. [While Revere rode to Lexington and Concord, Dawes went to Roxbury and Brookline, and thence by the present Harvard street to Cambridge.]

A detachment was immediately ordered out under command of Lord Percy, consisting of three regiments of infantry, two divisions of marines, and two pieces of field artillery. These troops rendezvoused near King’s Chapel, in that part of the present Tremont street which was then called ‘Long Acre.’ The infantry was promptly on hand but orders were confused and the marines were not ready to march until about nine o’clock.

Harrison Gray Otis, then a schoolboy of Boston, has described the scene in these words:

‘On the 19th April 1775 I went to school for the last time. In the morning, about seven o’clock, Percy’s brigade was drawn up, extending from Scollay’s buildings, through Tremont street, and nearly to the bottom of the Mall, preparing to take up their march to Lexington. A corporal came up to me as I was going to school and turned me off to pass down Court street, which I did and came up School street to the school-house. It may well be imagined what great agitation prevailed, — the British line being drawn up a few yards from the school-house door.’

The reinforcements marched south through what is now Washington street to Roxbury, up the hill by the Roxbury

¹ The ensuing paragraphs, until otherwise indicated, are taken from the manuscript of a talk before The Brookline Historical Society on ‘Old Harvard Street,’ by Edward Wild Baker.

Meeting House to the right, where the Paul Dudley parting stone was then and is now. --

Here the northerly face of the stone directed to Cambridge and Watertown by way of the highway across Stony Brook and over the hill (now Parker Hill) into and through Punch Bowl Village, — then a part of Roxbury and now the approach to the village section of Brookline.

The old Punch Bowl Tavern which gave the name to the locality stood on the right-hand side of the street where the Village Square transfer station in Brookline now is. In front stood the sign post with the swinging sign showing a punch bowl and lemon tree. Large trees shaded its hospitable entrance and just below was the tavern pump, while, where the railroad bridge now is, the road crossed the brook where the horses and cattle could get their refreshment, while their owners were enjoying theirs in the tavern tap room. Leaving Brookline the troops took the 'Road to Cambridge' as it is designated on all the old maps. It was not named Harvard street in Brookline until 1841 when the name was given to 'the road from the Baptist Meeting House towards Cambridge.' There were no cross streets in that day and the column kept on its straightaway march to the causeway and 'great bridge' across the Charles River at the place where Soldiers' Field now welcomes the multitudes of spectators to the mimic battles of the gridironed stadium.

Can any of you picture to yourselves ¹ that scarlet-coated army marching along that road, — a road winding along through the meadows and uplands and shaded by beautiful overhanging trees, — the houses of farmers at widely scattered intervals, and yet a road much travelled between Boston, the surrounding towns, and the Colleges at Cambridge? Can you see on that old road the usual traveller on horseback, alone or with company, — perhaps with his wife or some member of his family on the pillion behind, with an occasional chaise or an infrequent coach or chariot with some colonial or ecclesiastical dignitary?

Can you imagine the scene, — can you appreciate what must have been the feelings of families along the road as they watched the infantry marching by, the marines, the artillery, — a scarlet coated army of 1200 soldiers, with flags

¹ It is necessary for the reader to remember that Mr. Baker was speaking to an audience, not writing in apostrophic form for publication.

flying, music playing, — with baggage train and supplies, — the officers no doubt laughing and joking among themselves, and the men in the ranks acting as if they were all out on a practice parade? Indeed, it seems as if the commanding officers could not have realized the seriousness of the occasion, — otherwise the boats would have been brought back from Cambridge to the Common and the long march would have been avoided, to say nothing of the saving of most valuable time.

Leaving behind the Gardner house the troops followed the road towards the Colleges until they came to the causeway across the meadows and the river spanned by the 'Great Bridge.' The Selectmen of Cambridge had thought to make the 'Great Bridge' impassable. Those who carried out the orders were inexperienced in war and although they removed the floor boards they did not destroy or carefully conceal them, but piled them not far away on the Cambridge side. Percy's soldiers crossed on the stringers of the bridge, and relaid the flooring sufficiently for the troops and artillery to cross without serious delay. The baggage train, however, was so much delayed that it became separated from the main body and was cut off and captured in Menotomy (now Arlington).

General Heath of Roxbury was one of the generals who were authorized to take command of the Minute Men when they should be ordered out. On his way to the scene of action after receiving the alarm, he ordered the planks to be again removed from the bridge, barricades to be erected and the retreat of the British to be prevented should they return by the same route.¹

BROOKLINE'S PARTICIPATION

Meanwhile the men of Brookline had responded to the alarm, and three companies had assembled in front of the church on the Sherburne road. Two were organized then and there, one of which was commanded by Colonel Thomas Aspinwall and the other by Isaac Gardner, who held no military title. The third was a regularly organized and drilled company of ninety-four men, led by Captain Thomas White.² They remained

¹ This concludes the instant quotation from Edward Wild Baker's 'Old Harvard Street.'

² Of this company, Caleb Craft was First Lieutenant; Daniel White, Second



WALNUT AND WARREN STREETS, THE CENTER OF OLD BROOKLINE
The green with the monument is the site of the first school, and from here the
Brookline Minute Men marched to Lexington

under arms for more than three weeks after the day of Lexington and Concord.

Adhering to the maxim that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points, the militiamen set out across country in the direction of Lexington, but did not encounter the British at North Cambridge until the King's troops had commenced to move toward Boston. Then they took part in that harassing fire from the shelter of trees, buildings, and stone walls, that gave the English soldiers their first experience of what we now call sniping.

According to family tradition, Squire Gardner had taken leave of his wife and daughter that day in a manner that seemed fraught with premonition. With some men of his company, he took shelter behind some empty casks at what was known as Watson's Corner, and was so intent on the approach of the main body of the British down the road that he failed to notice the appearance of their flank guard behind him. In the encounter which followed, he was killed, the only Harvard graduate among the patriots to die that day. Near him at the time was his eldest son, later General Isaac S. Gardner, who was then a lad of seventeen, serving as fifer with Captain White's company. When the remains, pierced by a dozen wounds of bullet and bayonet, were brought back to Brookline the second night after, this son was the only member of the family to view them before their secret burial. Secrecy was observed, lest Brookline patriots be inspired to unwise demonstrations against the British because of their great love for the squire, and because of the general grief and resentment which his death had occasioned.

A significant controversy arose over Isaac Gardner, and flourished for some time. Unable to believe that one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace could have participated in open revolt under arms, an English newspaper correspondent stated:

This unfortunate Gentleman was not in arms, but returning to his family from a long journey, and lodged at Lexing-

Lieutenant; Moses White, Sergeant; Abijah Child, Sergeant; Timothy Corey, Sergeant; Samuel Griggs, Sergeant; Caleb Gardner, Corporal; John Harris, Jr., Corporal; Daniel Dana, Jr., Corporal; Isaac Gardner, Fifer; Benjamin Larnard, Drummer.

ton the night preceding the action; early in the morning of which fatal day he set out for home, and on the road, being unarmed, he was barbarously shot in cold blood, by a Scotch grenadier of the King's own regiment, though he begged for mercy and declared solemnly he had taken no part in that day's disturbance. He has left a widow and large family of young children, who, it is hoped his most gracious Majesty will provide for.

This account, however, did not go uncontroverted, for a reply to it appeared in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* of July 4, 1775, in these terms:

Isaac Gardner, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, was not killed as he was *peaceably* riding along, but was killed in the *very act of attacking* the King's troops.

The rebels in their own accounts, confess this, and confute Mr. Potatoe Head's falsehoods. Their account, dated the 24th of April, says that Isaac Gardner took 9 prisoners, that 12 soldiers deserted to him, and that his ambush proved fatal to Lord Percy and another general officer, who were killed the first fire. This is a clear refutation of Mr. Potatoe Head's lying paragraph.

Two other incidents of the day relate to Dr. Aspinwall, brother of the colonel, and to Dr. Downer. The former was notably alert and energetic against the enemy. When he observed a body of men under Captain Gridley awaiting the British at a point where he felt certain they would not pass, he sought to persuade that officer to move down toward the road to Charlestown, but without success. Then the doctor saw the British take the turn, shouted his discovery to the militiamen, leaped over a wall and off in pursuit, nearly half of the company with him.

Dr. Aspinwall was blind in one eye, and aimed from his left shoulder, but with commendable precision. It is related of him that he considered the marksmanship on both sides so faulty that he preferred to reload his gun while he stood on the side of a tree exposed to the enemy, rather than risk being shot by some member of his own party. He and the men who followed him harassed the retreating British until dusk overtook them near Charlestown.

Dr. Downer, called by General Heath an 'active, enterprising man,' engaged in more than one hand-to-hand conflict during the day. His closest escape from death came when he offered medical aid to a wounded British soldier who rolled over, gun in hand, and threatened, 'Damn yer, I'll dress yer wound for yer!' Providentially a companion of the doctor shot the other as he was taking aim.

THE BRITISH RETREAT

When, at the close of day, the enemy had been pursued into Charlestown, the patriots who had fought that day, more as individuals than as soldiery under orders, made their way home, each in his own fashion. The British had been shown that there was a limit beyond which Massachusetts men would not permit what they regarded as infringement of their rights.

¹ No one can tell what the result might have been had Lord Percy attempted to return by way of the Great Bridge barricaded as it was, and defended by men from the towns to the south of the Charles River. Suppose he had attempted to lead those tired soldiers, many of whom had already marched thirty miles, for another eight or nine miles, his column hampered by the wounded in carts or any kind of a vehicle which he had seized for their transportation, then that causeway across the meadows, that narrow bridge across the Charles, would have witnessed a struggle as fierce as any of those about which history tells us.

I wish it were possible today to show on the moving picture screen, first the view of the Anderson Bridge filled with thousands and thousands on their way to or from a holiday event at the Stadium, and follow it with a reproduction of how it must have looked on that warm spring morning in 1775, a narrow street and a narrower bridge filled with that long drawn out line of soldiers and baggage train, the whole covering the road, causeway, and bridge, probably from what is now Cambridge street, Allston, to Harvard Square [in Cambridge.]²

¹ Quotation of Mr. Baker's material is resumed.

² The quotation from Mr. Baker is temporarily broken at this point.

DEFENSIVE MEASURES

The day of Lexington and Concord made it plain that a stand had been taken from which there could be no retreat. To hold the position might be difficult. There would almost certainly be moves by the British toward retaliation and punishment, against which steps must be taken.

Accordingly, an order of April 21, 1775, directed 'that the two hogsheads of powder in the possession of Mr. Pigion be lodged with John Goddard, at Brookline, for the use of the American troops,' and a few days later a mortar and ordnance stores were delivered into Mr. Goddard's care.

The fort on Sewall's Point, sometimes called the Brookline Fort, stood near the present Cottage Farm station. It mounted six guns and had quarters for a strong garrison (two companies were stationed there on June 16, 1775) who, with the soldiers of Fort Washington on the Cambridge side of the river, shared the task of excluding British ships from the upstream reaches.

This fortification was erected under the direction of Colonel Rufus Putnam, and soon after Lexington was assigned to General Thomas's division of the Revolutionary Army at Roxbury. The Brookline Fort was under fire only once during the war, when an attack was made which General Heath records in his *Memoirs* under date of July 31, 1775: 'A little before one o'clock, A.M., a British floating-battery came up the river within 300 yards of Sewall's Point and fired a number of shot at the American works, on both sides of the river.'

Colonel Gerrish, in command at the time, was severely criticized for his failure to reply to the British attack. His behavior at Bunker Hill was also questioned, and in his account of that battle Richard Frothingham quotes Swett as saying:

He was stationed at Sewall's Point, which was fortified; in a few weeks a floating-battery made an attack on the place, which he did not attempt to repel, observing, 'The rascals can do us no harm, and it would be a mere waste of powder to fire at them with our four pounders.' It was evening, the lights were extinguished, and all the British balls flew wide of the fort. For his conduct on this occasion, and at Bunker Hill, he was arrested immediately, tried, found guilty of

'conduct unworthy an officer,' and cashiered. This was August 19, 1775. It was thought by the judge-advocate of the court that he was treated far too severely.

A battery, with three embrasures, stood on the shore of Muddy River, at the present St. Mary's Street. It does not appear to have played a part of any importance.

SOLDIERS' QUARTERS

As Washington established his line of siege around Boston, it became necessary to find shelter for his troops in many of the outlying communities, and in numerous instances homes were appropriated for that purpose. So far as possible, such use seems to have been temporary.

Thus Connecticut soldiers destined to occupy barracks on Parker Hill, were quartered for a time in the Davis house, near the southeast corner of Davis Avenue and Washington Street. The story is told that they disturbed the housekeeper by cutting up their rations of pork on the front stairs.

The Hyslop family moved to Medfield for safety during the siege, and their home was used as a barracks. Other soldiers moved in to share the home of the Ackers family on the corner of the present Chestnut Hill Avenue and Boylston Street.

Barracks were erected in a grove behind the fort on Sewall's Point to accommodate Colonel Gerrish's regiment and some Connecticut troops. Here also Colonel Prescott made his headquarters for some time. Later the barracks were used as hospitals for the particular purpose of inoculating the Continental soldiers with smallpox, a matter which greatly disturbed the citizens of Brookline.

Their concern was not unfounded, for the effect of inoculation, as practiced at that time, was to give the patient a mild case of the disease, in contrast to modern vaccination, which merely stimulates immunizing forces in the body. There was repeated objection to the hospitals on the ground that they constituted a possible source of an epidemic in Brookline, and the town meeting of February 12, 1778, directed Elhanan Winchester, representative in the General Assembly, 'to enquire by whose order the Barracks on Sewall's Point in this

Town are to be employed as Hospitals for inoculating the Soldiers of the Continental Army with the Small Pox; and that he exert himself to cause the same to be put under such Regulations and Restrictions as may tend most effectually to secure the Inhabitants of this Town from the Infection of that Distemper.' Whether anything was accomplished in this direction does not appear, but the town later received compensation for the damage which was presumed to have resulted from the presence of the smallpox hospitals. And meanwhile the town meeting refused the petition of Dr. William Aspinwall for leave to convert his home into a hospital for smallpox inoculation.

This, however, was not the only control by patriots of the personal inconvenience which effective prosecution of the general cause put upon them. Major William Thompson of Brookline became responsible for the presence in Massachusetts archives of one of the finest examples of righteous indignation in recorded American history, when a detachment of some forty men under a Captain King appeared with an order from Assistant Quartermaster General Parke, directing them to take possession of Thompson's house on Harvard Street. The major protested that the quartermaster was without authority to appropriate his house, and refused admission to the soldiers. When they threatened to break in and take possession, he proposed to provide them with shelter at his own expense at the nearest inn. This was refused, and he then suggested that he ought in any case not to be asked to take in more than he could accommodate comfortably with his own family. Making no progress along that line, either, Major Thompson went inside, locked the door, and defied the soldiers until they broke in and compelled the family to move into a single room. All this he recited in a petition to the General Court, which he concluded with these resounding periods:

Your Petitioner humbly begs leave to assure your Honours, that he is zealously attached to the Cause of this his native Country, has perseveringly exerted his small abilities to oppose the Encroachments of foreign and unconstitutional Power — that it is the most ardent wish of his Heart that his country may be able to form and establish the most

perfect System of Freedom, and forever maintain and enjoy it; to which End he feels himself unalterably determined to contribute the last mite of his Property — that should the Exigencies of the army ever require it, he will cheerfully quit his House and other Possessions, for the Service and Benefit of the Public, whenever required to do it in a manner becoming a Freeman, and so as to leave him the humble merit and heartfelt Satisfaction that will arise from his poor but voluntary and utmost efforts in behalf of his Country.

Your Petitioner therefore prays your Honours attention to the most audacious Insult and enormous Outrage that has been offered him, and interpose your Authority to procure him such Reparation as in your Wisdom and Justice shall seem meet, and your Pet^r as in Duty bound humbly prays.

The petition, one regrets to say, was read and referred to the next session, and it does not appear that any official action was taken to comfort the major.

CONFISCATION OF LOYALIST PROPERTY

Persons who were not in sympathy with the patriot cause found themselves living among unfriendly, if not hostile neighbors. Strong pressure had been brought to bear against merchants who, in the years preceding, had failed to co-operate in the non-importation program. Tar and feathers provided only one form of coercion. Anne Hulton's correspondence has disclosed others.

After the fighting actually began, therefore, it was not strange that those who persisted in their loyalty to the King should deem it wise to remove themselves, even though the process involved abandonment of their property. A Tory, now known only by his last name of Jackson, owned a house near the site of the present Public Library on Washington Street. More fortunate than many others of his class, he was able to sell his property before he departed, and it was converted into barracks for Continental soldiers.

The town had been prompt to move for confiscation. A meeting of the inhabitants on June 12, 1775, 'Voted that some method be taken to secure the Incomes of ye Estates Belonging

to the Refugees now in Boston which lately belonged to Sd Town.' At the direction of the General Court, the Brookline Committee of Correspondence, Safety, and Inspection, reported formally on their disposition of the confiscated property of Henry Hulton. His farm they rented at twenty-four pounds a year, lawful money, and their extensive inventory of the personal estate 'Taken into our Care' includes the following:

one Matrass bed, two hats, one feather, one Sword

“ Iron Great

“ Plow Shares & Colter

“ Chest with about one Duzon of Glas Bottles

“ Iron Pump handle

“ Shase Cushen, 11 Chana Plates, two Maps

Som Sheat Led, 1 Small bag of Brass Scruse

In the same report, dated July 2, 1776, the committee reported that they had also

Take into our Care Seven Acres of Land belonging to one Holmes of Boston and Let it out for one year to Robert Sharp of Brookline, he Paying Four Pound Thirteen Shillings & four pence Lawfull money Rent.

Also we have Taken into our Care the farm belonging to Sam'll Sewall & have Let it out for one year to John Heath of said Town, he Paying the Sum of forty Eight Pounds Lawfull money Rent.

The committee was troubled over the fact that there was other property of Sewall's in which his sister claimed an undivided interest and which, in consequence, might not be confiscated in the same manner as the rest. Directions were asked from the General Court as to the proper procedure by which Sewall's interest might be taken over. He, meanwhile, had fled to England as a refugee.

Brookline was thoroughly committed to the war. To the somewhat academic co-operation expressed in resolutions of the town meeting, were added the administrative aid of the Committee of Correspondence, such quarters as citizens could spare, and the services of able men in the field. The town formed a part of Washington's line of siege about Boston, and in compelling the evacuation of that place by the Brit-

ish, a Brookline man was perhaps the ablest lieutenant of the Commander-in-Chief.

THE SIEGE OF BOSTON ¹

As one historian has expressed it, 'The environs of Boston presented an animating sight.' Hardly a century had elapsed since the two principal passes into the country, — Boston Neck and Charlestown Neck — were fortified to save the infant American civilization from the inroads of the savages; now the beautiful hills that surrounded and commanded them were covered with all the pomp and pride of war, to protect the same civilization against being destroyed from without by the hand which should have protected it. A letter of a British officer ² in Boston at that time records his impression in these words:

'The country is most beautifully tumbled about in hills and valleys, rocks and woods, interspersed with straggling villages, with here and there a spire peeping over the trees, and the country of the most charming green that delighted eye ever gazed on.'

The beauty of nature was now intermingled, on the land with white tents, glittering bayonets, and frowning cannon, while no small portion of the navy of England rode proudly in the harbor. Occasionally the scene was enlivened by a peaceful parade or a hostile skirmish. The sights were no less novel than interesting, and thousands flocked to the neighborhood, either to greet their friends, or to witness the exciting scenes.

Rev. William Emerson wrote: 'The Generals Washington and Lee are upon the lines every day. New orders from his Excellency are read to the respective regiments after prayers.... Thousands are at work every day from four to eleven o'clock in the morning.... It is very diverting to walk among the camps. They are as different in their form as the owners are in their dress; and every tent is a portraiture of the temper of the persons who encamp in it.... Some are made of boards and some of sailcloth. Some partly of one and partly of the other. Again, others are made of stone, and turf and brush. Some are thrown up in a hurry; others curiously wrought with doors and windows, done with wreaths and

¹ Quotation from Mr. Baker's 'Old Harvard Street' is resumed.

² Captain, later Lord, Harris.

withes in the manner of a basket. Some are your proper tents and marquees, looking like the regular camp of the enemy. In these are the Rhode Islanders who are furnished with tent equipage, and everything in the most exact English style.

'General Washington is described as being truly noble and majestic in appearance, tall and well-proportioned. His dress a blue coat with buff-colored facings, a rich epaulette on each shoulder, buff under dress, and an elegant smallsword; a black cockade in his hat.'

For eight months, through summer and winter and until March in the next spring (1776) the occupants of houses along the old road to the colleges watched the passing and repassing of the different companies and regiments of raw recruits which patriotism and privations finally developed into the Continental Army. In the night they would be awakened and startled by the mounted messengers galloping at top speed between Generals Ward and Thomas at Roxbury and the Commander-in-Chief at Cambridge.

They looked with scorn and disdain on the Boston-bound Tories who forsook their homes and property and with their families sought protection within the lines of the royal forces; and they pitied, and assisted so far as possible, that ever lengthening procession of poor exiles from the beleaguered town, who fled from suffering and starvation to ask shelter and support with their friends and fellow patriots in the country outside.

That was the time when the Harvard College buildings were used as barracks, when there were forts on both sides of the Charles river, one near where Cottage Farm Station now is, and another on the opposite side, — when the Americans were so short of ammunition that window weights and the lead coats of arms on old tomb stones were molded into bullets. What a season of disturbance and anxiety it must have been for the family in the old Gardner house, right in the midst of events, their own family life saddened by the loss of a noble husband and loving father who at the Battle of Bunker Hill laid down his life in defense of home and country on that memorable seventeenth of June.¹

¹ Quotation from Mr. Baker is suspended here.

MUNITIONS IN BROOKLINE

The spectacle of the siege was watched, of course, from the hills of Brookline. Nathaniel Goddard, son of the man who was one of Washington's most useful helpers, recorded¹ that

when I was about eight years old I saw from the window of the house in which I was born the shells thrown from Boston to Lechmere's Point by the British, the burning fuse appearing like shooting stars. Boston being besieged, a regiment of Rhode Island troops was stationed on what was called Winchester Hill, near Jamaica Pond, as a surety for the shells, shot, etc. piled in by-places in my father's pasture, and the powder stored in the chamber of my father's shop, the building before alluded to as the temporary residence of the family. There was also a corporal's guard of soldiers stationed particularly to guard the powder. My father being most of the time absent on public business, the farm was carried on by my elder brother, Samuel, and my mother gave liberty to the guard to take peas, beans, and such vegetables as they might wish, upon the condition that they would guard the fields by night from the straggling soldiers on Winchester Hill; but I believe they imposed on her credulity and allowed their comrades to depredate, as we missed many things, particularly our currants and other fruits.

Soon after this was the Battle of Bunker's Hill. We heard the cannon, and from our dwelling saw Charlestown burning. While the powder was in my father's shop not more than fifteen feet from the house, and the corporal's guard watching it, the guard slept on straw on the lower floor of the building and amused themselves in the evening by playing cards by candle light. One night there was a most terrible thunderstorm; lightning struck and split to pieces a large Catherine pear tree not fifteen feet from the shop, rending it from the top to the roots. Notwithstanding this, it lived and bore fruit for nearly forty years. Had the lightning struck the shop, I should not have been here to record the fact. The report was circulated that some person had said, 'There is the American powder in that building but it will not be there a week hence.' This report was sent to the commander on the Hill, and he increased the guard to

¹ *Nathaniel Goddard, A Boston Merchant.* Anonymous (Boston Privately Printed, 1906); pp. 57-65), *passim*.

a sergeant's command. The barn was filled with the canteens of the soldiers, which, to prevent suspicion, were enclosed by hay in large wagons and carts to resemble loads of hay, the Tories being very much on the alert and from their superior knowledge of the country more troublesome than the British soldiers. The teams, to the shame of the country, were procured by my father's own funds and promises, and were paid for with much good money. He received in return depreciated Continental money, much of which he had on hand when a hundred dollars was not worth a good ninepence. Soon the stores were transported to the army, Washington took command and planned the expedition to take and fortify Dorchester Heights. My father had men employed in cutting and making fascines to carry onto the Hill, and in getting the teams ready to transport all the stores for the troops.

The Tories, as I have said, were the most troublesome of our enemies. We had but few of these in Brookline. Even as early as the Battle of Concord all who favored the English had withdrawn, for I recollect that it was said that there was but one man in Brookline who did not go to the battle, and that was a Mr. Ackers who 'could not get ready'; but he was not a Tory. But one of these was killed, but he was one of the first men of the town, Squire Gardner, father of the late General Gardner. My father's hired man, Joel Hager, got behind a tree where he loaded and fired all the time the British were passing, and on examining the tree afterwards it was found that seven balls from the enemy had hit it, but the man was not wounded.

THE WAGON-MASTER GENERAL

The father of Nathaniel Goddard, 'being most of the time absent on public business,' was the John Goddard who had carted supplies for the colonial forces to Concord. He was so obviously a man with a faculty for getting things done, that the *Orderly Book* of Abijah Wyman, commanding a company in Colonel William Prescott's regiment, records under the date of August 9, 1775:

Mr. John Godard is apinted By the Comander yn Cheaf wagon master genl to the army of the twelve united Colonies, and is to Be obeyed as such.



THE BARTLETT FARM, WASHINGTON AND BEACON STREETS

Bartlett Crescent was laid out through this pasture

He had, however, been appointed by the town meeting of November 2, 1774, as 'waggon master for the army,' and had been active more or less continuously since early March of 1775. His account book states:

May 22. Began to be constant in service of the Province Myself.

John Goddard lent a hand in preparing the fort at Sewall's Point, as is attested by this entry:

July 7, 1775. To hand and team carting stons to the well in the fort at Brookline..... 0-6-0

So useful did this able freighter prove, that General Washington desired him to follow the army when the center of hostilities shifted to New York after the evacuation of Boston, but this Goddard was unwilling to do, although he continued to lend his assistance to the patriot cause.

His accounts reflect interestingly the conception of necessary refreshment which was common in those times. On February 10, 1779, he set out for Fishkill with a load. Excerpts from his accounts read:

12	to Dinner and horse bate.....	1- 2-0
	to oats & Drink.....	0-12-0
	to oats & Drink.....	0-12-0
	To Supper horse keeping Lodging.....	2- 0-0
	Breakfast and horse bate.....	0-18-0
13th	to half mug of flip.....	0- 6-0
	to entertainment from Saturday to Monday at Pompherst.....	5-18-6
15	to Dinner toddy & horse Bate.....	1-18
	to supper horse keeping Lodging & oats.....	2-10-0

The drink and toddy keep recurring from day to day, a reminder that in those times a reasonable ration of alcohol was considered a necessary part of the daily diet. The prices seem a little high, judged by the standards of 1779, but there are at least two considerations to be remembered. Goddard had an assistant with him, and the prices which he paid were presumably in inflated currency, for approximately thirty dollars is a pretty generous fee, even for the entertainment of two men from Saturday to Monday at Pomfret.

To return, however, to the first years of the war, there are interesting records of Goddard's willing assumption and thorough performance of his duties. In the *New England Chronicle and Essex Gazette* for November 9-16, 1775, appeared the notice:

By Order of the Quarter Master General.

Wanted, directly, for the Use of the Continental army, a number of Teams to be employed in the camps, where they may have good encouragement and immediate employ, by applying to John Goddard, at his lodgings at Mr Samuel Chandler's in Cambridge, or to Mr Robert Champney's, Deputy Wagon-Master in Roxbury. It is desired that people would exert themselves, as they value the safety of their country.

John Goddard, W. M. G.

THE BUSINESS ON DORCHESTER HEIGHTS

The Wagon-Master General's big night in the service of his country was that of Monday, March 4, 1776. The siege of Boston had not progressed in a fashion indicative of any large success.

About dusk that evening, however, the patriot forces in Roxbury opened a vigorous cannonade upon the British in Boston. As the Reverend William H. Lyon described it to his congregation in a sermon ¹ preached as late as 1912:

About seven o'clock two thousand men marched to Dorchester Heights. Eight hundred formed an advance guard, followed by carts with intrenching tools, then came twelve hundred more troops, and last of all a train of three hundred wagons, carrying fascines and hay.

If one is disposed to believe that three hundred wagons can easily be moved by night, in silence, the experiment of moving one such wagon is respectfully suggested. The rumble of a wheel, the crack of a whip-lash, might have betrayed the movement to some Tory sympathizer. But this had been anticipated, and precluded.

The wheels of the carts were wound with hay, and the oxen shod with felt, and no whips were allowed to be used,

¹ *John and Hannah Goddard. A Sermon by William H. Lyon, D.D., March 10, 1912; Brookline, Published by The Parish, 1912.*

the poor uninterested beasts being prodded along with sharpened sticks. So, though there was a bright moonlight, the British were completely taken by surprise when they beheld, the next morning, the fortifications which made Boston untenable. 'Good God!' exclaimed General Howe, 'these fellows have done more work in one night than I could have made my army do in three months. What shall I do?'

EVACUATION

The British overestimated the force of the patriots surrounding the town, and decided on a capitulation which they need not — at least at that time — have made. In consequence, they abandoned the town, surrendering 'over two hundred cannons, thousands of muskets, and great stores of powder, lead, and other military necessities, and betook themselves to their fleet. So ended the siege of Boston.'

A contemporary wrote, under the date of Sunday, March 17, 1776:

Observed some very peculiar movements of the Shipping; they continued falling down the harbor, many of them surrounded with great numbers of boats till about noon, when I hear the Selectmen of Boston came out to Roxbury and informed the Generals that the British troops had all embarked and left the town; whereupon a detachment from our army marched in with the American Standard displayed, and took possession of the town about 2 P.M....

As John Sullivan accounted for the affair in a letter to John Adams:

Lord Percy... instead of his Prospect Glass, took a multiplying Glass & viewed our people from the Castle, & made them fifty thousand, when, in fact, we had only sent on four thousand.

If it is evident to us now that the British forces evacuated Boston in consequence of a mistake in judgment, it is also apparent that the element of surprise was of the greatest importance in influencing that hasty and ill-founded decision. And the one man whose responsible performance of an apparently impossible task did most to account for that surprise was John

Goddard of Brookline. It would hardly be exaggeration to describe him as the outstanding figure of the occasion.

OTHER CONSPICUOUS SERVICES

Apart from providing her share of the rank and file who made up the backbone of the colonial forces, Brookline contributed a number of men whose individual efforts for the cause were of an exceptional order. The ranking officer among soldiers from Brookline was Colonel James Wesson, who came from Sudbury, and on May 25, 1768, married Ann White of Brookline. He enlisted May 18, 1775, and as major of Colonel Loammi Baldwin's regiment served in the various forts around Boston for nearly a year, when he went to New York as lieutenant-colonel of the same regiment. He also saw service in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and in April of 1777 went with the Ninth Massachusetts Regiment to Ticonderoga. Distinguished for bravery in the battle of Oriskany, he was promoted to the colonelcy of the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment.

Colonel Wesson fought at Saratoga and Monmouth Courthouse, and in the latter battle narrowly escaped death when, as he leaned low over his horse's neck in an effort to see underneath the smoke, a cannon ball grazed his shoulders. General Heath wrote: 'It was here that the firm Colonel Wesson had his back peeled of its muscles almost from shoulder to shoulder by a cannonball.'

Although he was partially crippled by this wound, Colonel Wesson continued in the army, was transferred to the Ninth Regiment again, and saw service at West Point and Orangetown. He was discharged in 1781, and returned to Brookline, only to move three years later to his farm in Marlboro.

Three medical men experienced more than ordinarily adventurous service. Dr. William Aspinwall and Dr. Eliphalet Downer were army surgeons, the former first attached to General Heath's brigade, and afterward to the hospital in Roxbury. In 1778 he was with General Sullivan's forces in Rhode Island.

Dr. Downer was busy with the army besieging Boston, until after the evacuation, when he joined the privateer *Yankee* and

acted as a gunner. The crew of a captured British ship successfully turned on their captors, and took them to England, where they were imprisoned. Dr. Downer, however, was accorded special privileges as a hospital assistant, and escaped to France, where he joined another privateer, the *Alliance*, and participated in her highly successful career in the British Channel.

After these adventures, the doctor started for home, but his ship became engaged in a desperate fight which continued for over seven hours, until both her masts were shot away, her ammunition was exhausted, and her company were carried off to Portsea prison, near Portsmouth. Here Dr. Downer, who had been severely wounded, took part in a plot to escape; a forty-foot tunnel was excavated with a jackknife; and though some of the prisoners were recaptured, the doctor made his way to France, and at last to Boston.

His grandson related: 'He escaped from Halifax prison, was also in Dartmoor and Forten prisons, and served as sailor and surgeon under John Paul Jones in the *Bonhomme Richard*.' Even these experiences, however, seem not to have dampened his patriotic ardor, for in the summer of 1779 he went as chief surgeon with the Penobscot expedition to Canada. On this service he lost his surgical instruments, and was awarded fifteen dollars on that account.

John Goddard, son of the Wagon-Master General, graduated from Harvard in 1777, studied medicine, but determined on the apothecary's trade rather than the practice of his profession. Since it was impossible at the time for him to purchase his stock in England, he determined to go to Spain for that purpose. He took passage as surgeon on an armed ship, which was captured by the British, and he with the ship's officers was sent to a prison ship in the West Indies.

Conditions were incredibly bad. Food was so inadequate that, Goddard said, he had seen men fighting over a rat. He suffered severely from fever, and grew so emaciated that, when he had partially recovered, he escaped through a porthole and swam to a ship bound for his home-land. Close to its destination, this vessel was captured, and Goddard was returned to the prison from which he had just escaped. He again suf-

fered from fever, again escaped, and finally made his way back to Brookline.

It is probable that his work as apothecary would have been of considerable value to the Continentals, and though he was not in military service, it is fair to regard him as engaged in a patriotic cause. However, he had put in a lot of time in a most unpleasant way — and he had *not* got the stock of drugs for which he set out.

THE RANK AND FILE

The nineteenth of April had brought about a spontaneous rush to arms in which the entire male population of Brookline took part. Their homes were endangered, and defense was their first duty.

After the enemy had been driven into Boston, however, and the threat was a little less immediate, most of the husbandmen returned to their farming. Captain White's Brookline company of militia remained on active duty for three weeks, and there were doubtless many voluntary enlistments in the Continental forces during the early months of the war. This is apparent, both from the fact that means of raising soldiers are not discussed in the town meeting until the last day of January, 1776, and from the resolution of December 12, 1775, which excused all Brookline soldiers from the payment of poll taxes.

On January 31 an inducement of forty shillings was offered to every man who would enlist to reinforce the Continental Army for two months. Payment was to be made 'upon his producing a Certifycate that he has Joined the army and passed muster, and also, that he is provided with a Good fire arm, Blanket, Bayonet and Cartridge Box.' A committee, comprising Colonel Aspinwall, Captain Timothy Corey, and Samuel Craft, was appointed to endeavor to get ten enlistments on these terms, and if that many inhabitants of Brookline were unwilling to seize the opportunity, the committee was authorized 'to agree with any other persons on the Easiest Terms they Can, not to Exceed the allowance of forty Shillings Each man.'

On May 20, 1776, the Brookline town meeting anticipated by some six weeks the action that was to be taken in Philadelphia on July 4. It was

Voted to advise the Person, Chosen to Represent this Town in the next General Court, that if the Hon. Congress Should, for the Safety of the American Colonies, Declare them Independent of the Kingdom of Great Briton, that we Sd Inhabitants will Solemnly Engage with our Lives and fortune to Support them in the measure.

Congress having taken that step, the inhabitants of Brookline on July 9 offered to add £6-6-8 to the bounty of seven pounds granted by the General Court, to every able-bodied man who would enlist for Canadian service. A committee was appointed to see what men could be raised, and apparently met with little encouragement, for at the adjournment of the meeting on July 11 it was voted to add enough to the sum first offered, to make it up to fifty dollars for each man.

Enthusiasm for service in Canada remained low. It was an enterprise too far removed from the immediate interests of the farmers of Brookline to appeal to them. Consequently a further adjournment of the meeting just mentioned, on July 18, voted an additional five pounds bounty per man, and also provided 'that the Men Called for from this Town be Draughted with Liberty to take the Bounty or pay the Fine.'

A committee was appointed on August 19 to help raise three men by any method which their discretion might suggest. On September 23 the town meeting voted to raise money to hire the quota of men Brookline had been directed to provide, and decided to offer four pounds a month in addition to the Continental pay. When the next quota was demanded, the town offered, on November 26, three pounds per month of extra pay, and provided that if this did not induce sufficient voluntary enlistments, the men should be drafted.

MOUNTING BOUNTIES

Brookline was still suffering from what might be called quota trouble when a meeting held February 18, 1777, offered twenty-four pounds legal money as a bounty for enlistments, for three years or the duration of the war. On May 26 it was voted to reimburse Captain Thomas White in the sum of £15-15-0 for bounty payments advanced by him to three men, 'namely James Woods, Samuel Marian, and Gershon Hide, who enlisted

for this Town's Quota of Militia, and lately marched to the Aid of Rhode Island State.' Efforts to collect for services voluntarily rendered met with less success, however, for 'Upon the Question, whether this Town will allow and pay a Gratuity to John Spear, Caleb Gardner, Silas Winchester & William Davis, who enlisted without Bounty and continued in the Army untill the disbanding thereof in December last, voted in the negative.'

The twenty-four pound bounty authorized on February 18 resulted in the enlistment of sixteen men by Colonel James Wesson, who received from the town treasurer the sum of £384 for Jeremiah Clark, George Dunlap, Elijah Mills, Charles Winchester, Lambert Smith, Ezekiel Crane, Henry Tucker, Christopher Higby, Hugh McKoron, Oliver Yan, John Burton, John Sinclair, John Hambleton, Nathaniel Rose, John Butler, and Stephen Eldridge.

There was a call for eight men to reinforce the Northern Army until the end of November, 1777, and to raise these a committee was appointed, August 15, with authority to make whatever bounty promises they thought reasonable and proper. Three days later the committee reported that they had enlisted John McIlvaine, William Davis, John Spear, Benjamin Winchester, John White, Joseph Caswall, William McIlvaine, and Joseph Brown. If Joseph Brown could not go, Silas Winchester was willing. And the committee had promised them thirty pounds bounty apiece. The meeting was apparently well pleased, for they voted an extra fifteen pounds to provide the men with canteens and pay their subsistence of two pence a mile for traveling to the army.

On February 12, 1778, three more men were required for three months' duty in Boston, and Lieutenant Caleb Craft, Lieutenant Abram Jackson, and Stephen Sharp were appointed a committee to hire them. At the same time this was made a standing committee to attend to all such matters in the future, and to be paid for the work. Something, however, must have happened to it very shortly, because the meeting of March 2 named Dr. William Aspinwall, Joshua Boylston, Eleazer Baker, Robert Sharp, and Joshua Winship for the same purpose. The two military men on the original committee may

have been called on other duties, or they may have exposed themselves to some criticism, especially Lieutenant Craft, on account of repeated claims presented to the town for 'extra military Service.'

Not until June 30, 1779, did the town meeting find it necessary to discuss again the matter of raising men. Then a new committee was appointed, and the selectmen directed to raise whatever money the committee should find necessary to hire the quota then demanded. On October 11 still another committee was named to enlist 'the number of men the Town is now Call'd upon to Raise to Reinforce the Continental Army for three months.'

By July 13, 1780, it was found necessary to resort again to the threat of a draft. The town

Voted that Capt. White be desired to Issue his Warrant to warn the Training Band and alarm list to meet to Morrow afternoon at five a Clock in this place in order to raise the Remainder of the Town's Quota of Men by draft if they cannot be Raised any other way be fore that time and that Notice be given that such persons as shall not attend the meeting be the first Drafted.

The following day at the adjourned meeting steps were taken to borrow money for hiring men, and it was

Voted that the Town will not give more than fifteen Hundred pounds pr. Man for the Militia which are Call'd for three months provided the Town holds the State pay, and thirteen hundred Pounds if the Soldiers holds the States Pay. and that the Committee do not give that sum after next tuesday, and that Mr. Gulliver Winchester, Deac'n Gardner, and Doct'r Aspinwall be a Committee to hire Sd men in room of the former Committee for that purpose who Decline to Serve in that office.

STANDING OF 'HARD MONEY'

The purchasing power of the fifteen hundred pounds was probably no more — and possibly less — than that of the fifty-dollar bounty which had been offered some four years earlier. An uncontrolled paper currency had by this time nearly wrecked the economic system of Massachusetts and the nation;

and the same town meeting that offered a bounty of fifteen hundred pounds extended formal thanks to Miss Mary Boylston for three *silver* dollars which she gave to encourage enlistments.

A meeting on December 26, 1780, voted to raise seven hundred and fifty pounds in silver money, or its paper equivalent, to be used in engaging soldiers or for other purposes which might be approved. On the following fourth of January every inhabitant was promised four dollars for each soldier he might be able to hire to enlist as part of Brookline's quota, for three years or the duration of the war. Such soldiers were to receive enough from the town to make their total pay amount to six pounds per month, and were to be given sixty dollars in advance. This offer was reconsidered on March 14, and the committee were directed to dicker with each man and make as good terms as they could.

During the months that followed, there were frequent appropriations for the purchase of the town's quota of beef for the Continental Army. At one time it was twenty-five thousand pounds; again it was 'Six Hundred Hard Dollars.'

On July 17, 1781, eight more men were needed for service in Rhode Island and at West Point. For this purpose the town was divided into eight classes, and each class was required to procure one man and pay him. Assessments were to be made within the several classes to raise the necessary money; no class was permitted to hire a man out of another class before a fixed date, unless the other class had already hired its man; and the highest price given for any of the men was to be the maximum penalty for failure to provide a man, if the class in question had exercised due diligence in trying to fulfill their obligation. This method of classifying the inhabitants seems to have been formulated in an order of the General Court, for reference is made on July 8, 1782, to a resolution of that sort passed by the General Court on March 1, requiring five additional three-year men from Brookline.

Five men were needed for service at Nantasket in the fall of that year, and a committee was appointed to hire them 'on the most reasonable terms they can,' with a promise that the town would relieve them in six weeks if they desired it. At the same time the selectmen were promised indemnification from

any charges to which they might have exposed themselves by failing to draft the men under the terms of the militia law.

This concludes the account of the vexatious problem of providing man-power from an agricultural community where nearly every man feels a duty to be active on the land, for the prosecution of a war at a distance. After the British left Boston, Brookline men were for the most part anxious to get back to their farming. That the town accomplished so much, and bore the heavy burden of taxation so courageously, is evidence of devotion to the cause. And a costly cause it was, in more ways than one.

PROBLEMS OF FINANCE

Had the country been on a sound fiscal basis, the exigencies of war would nevertheless have boosted living costs. As things were, prices seemed to know no limits. Beef that had cost 4*d.* a pound in 1777 went to 8*s.* 9*d.* in 1780, or more than forty times as much. Corn rose from 4*s.* to £8 a bushel, and wool from 3*s.* to £3 a pound. The ratio between paper and hard money showed a growing disparity. One Brookline town meeting estimated \$75 of currency as the equivalent of one dollar in silver, and as late as 1790 old Continental dollars were sold at 2*s.* 9*d.* a hundred.

Repeated unsuccessful efforts were made to fix prices and prevent the practice of selling for less in silver and gold than in paper money. An act of January 25, 1777, set prices for more than fifty staples: 'Good well fatted grass-fed beef at 3*d.* a lb. and stall-fed beef at 4*d.* a lb. and beef of inferior quality in equal proportion'; 'good merchantable imported salt, at 10*sh.* a bushel, salt manufactured from sea water within the state at 12*sh.* a bushel.' In 1779 a convention at Concord endeavored to regulate inn-keepers' charges, and allowances were fixed for an 'extra good dinner, £1; common, 12*sh.*; best supper and breakfast, 15*sh.*; common, 12*sh.*; West India flip, 15*sh.* per mug.'

In Brookline there were three highly visible indicators of the inflation. One was the rising scale of bounty payments to soldiers, which has been described above. There were also the increasing levies for the operation of the town government,

and annual special provisions for the minister who, as almost the only member of the salaried class, was exposed to exceptional hardship by the mounting prices of commodities.

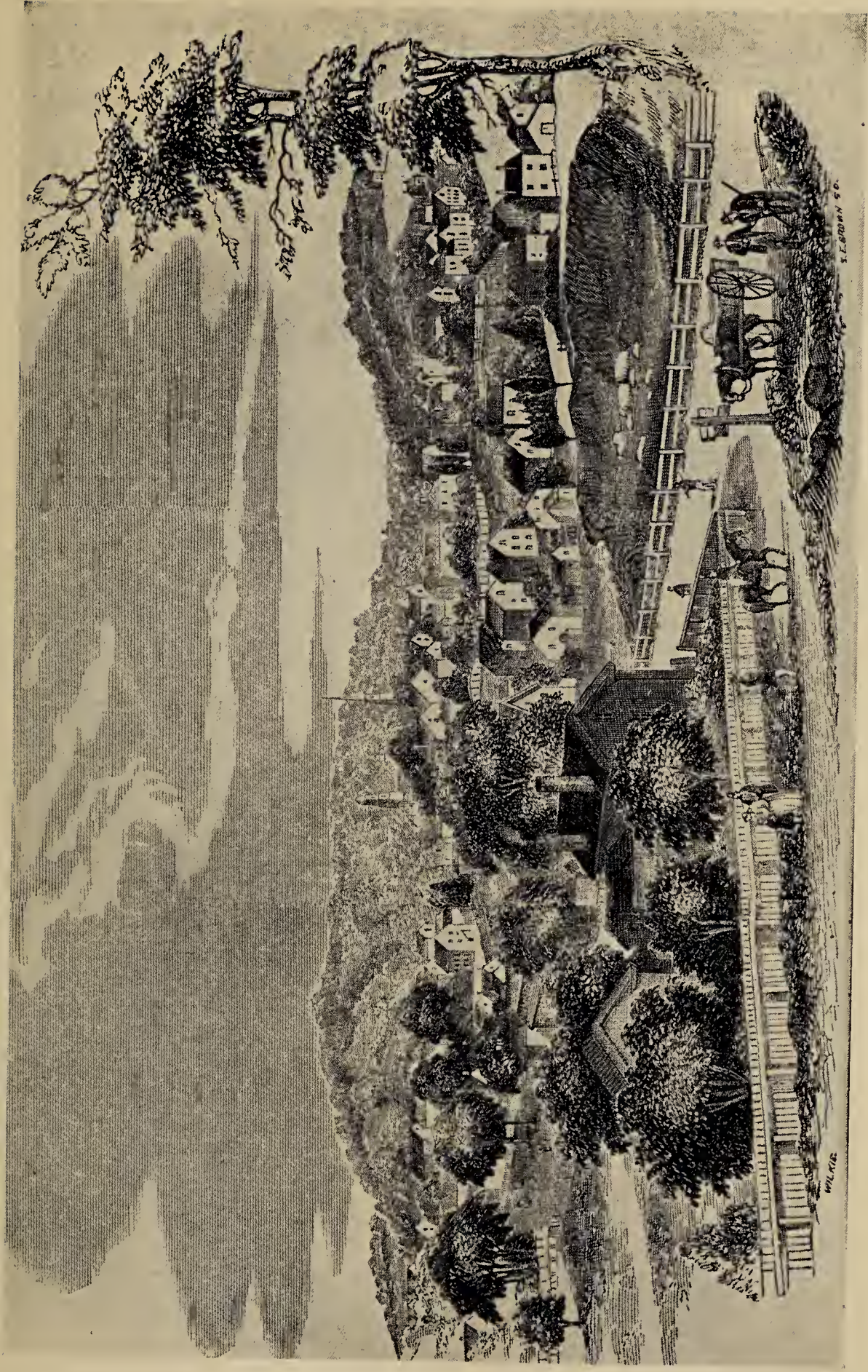
Thus, on November 10, 1777, the town voted to 'make an Allowance to the rev'd Joseph Jackson their Minister, for the Current year in consideration of the very high prices of the necessaries of Life,' and a committee appointed to figure out what the allowance ought to be, recommended payment of £206-13-4 to make Mr. Jackson's salary up to £300. The next year enough was voted, 'in addition to his settled Sallary,' to bring the total to £600; and in 1779 the amount was £1500.

The meeting of June 5, 1780, found that the salary business had got entirely out of hand. A committee reported their recommendation that the minister

be paid his Salary, in money equal to Produce at the Prices hereafter mentioned, that is, Indian Corn at four Shillings pr. Bushel, English Hay at four Shillings pr. Hundred Wt., good Beef and mutton at four pence pr. pound, and Butter at ten pence pr. pound.

And that a Committee be Chosen to Examine into the prices of the above mentioned articles and report to the Town Treasurer once a month what Sum ought to be paid to make it equal to the aforementioned prices; and that the Treasurer be Desired to make payment of such sums as Mr. Jackson has not Rec'd by way of the Box Each month During the year — and that Mr. Jackson be repaid Such sums as he has been obliged to Expend out of his own Estate in the time pas'd.

Appropriations 'to Defray the Charges of the Town the current year' amounted to £200 in 1773, and £150 in 1775. But the sum mounted to £550 in 1776, £700 in 1777, £2500 in 1778, and £4635 in 1779. In 1780 money was scarcely more than so much paper, and tax levies were in large sums. Thus, the meeting of June 5 voted a levy of £18,529 to be collected by the first of September; the meeting of July 3 voted another levy of £18,373 to be collected by the fifteenth of the same month; and on September 29 a third levy, amounting to £18,841, was ordered 'for the Purpose of Purchasing Supplis for the Army.' The precise use to which the two earlier levies



BROOKLINE FROM THE CORNER OF THE PRESENT HUNTINGTON AND
SOUTH HUNTINGTON AVENUES IN 1855

were to be applied does not appear, but they presumably had some connection with the prosecution of the war. However, the cost of town government had increased twenty to thirty times above normal, unless account is taken of the currency inflation.

FRAMING A GOVERNMENT

Before, during and after the war, the inhabitants of Brookline were alert to their responsibilities as citizens of Massachusetts and of the nation. They participated in repeated conferences and congresses, and the town meeting frequently labored with explicit instructions to the delegates.

Captain Benjamin White had attended the assembly at Salem in 1774, which became a Provincial Congress, and he was chosen the town's representative to the Provincial Congress at Watertown on May 31, 1775. John Goddard was elected to the General Assembly in 1776, and Elhanan Winchester in 1777. At the meeting of May 26 that year there was discussion of the recommendation of the Assembly that the towns instruct their representatives to join with the Council to draw up a new constitution. The inhabitants of Brookline felt that this was not a proper function for such a body, and accordingly 'Voted that they do not give their Assent that the Representatives and Council should form a Constitution but Recommend that a Convention should be appointed by the People for that express Purpose, and that only, as soon as practicable.'

The General Court managed, however, to get the consent of a majority of the towns, resolved itself into a constitutional convention on June 17, 1777, and appointed a committee to draft a constitution. The report of this committee was received in December, discussed by the House and Council in convention during January and February, and finally approved on February 28, 1778. It was then submitted to the people, with the provision that a two-thirds majority must favor the document to give it effect.

This was the first American state constitution to be formally offered for popular approval, and it encountered a great deal of opposition. The Brookline town meeting appointed a com-

mittee, comprising Major William Thompson, Nehemiah Davis, and Isaac Child to meet with similar committees from other towns at Dedham on April 28, 1778, and confer as to the suitability of 'the Form of Government lately offered to the People of this State for their approbation or disapprobation.'

Their report seems to have been insufficient to satisfy the inhabitants, however, for the proposed constitution was read and discussed in the town meeting of May 21, 1778, which

Voted that the same is not calculated and adapted, to promote and secure in the best manner attainable, the True and lasting Happiness and Freedom of the People of this State; that it is essential to a Constitution designed for that most important and desirable End, that a full and express declaration of the Rights of the People, be made a part thereof, and that the Powers of Rulers Should be accurately defined and properly Limited; that as the Form Proposed is almost totally deficient in those respects and imperfect and intricate in many parts, it ought therefore to be rejected, and this Meeting consisting of forty five voters do unanimously and absolutely reject the same.

In phraseology this resolution of rejection is curiously similar to the 'Essex Result,' a pamphlet written by Theophilus Parsons, then an able young lawyer of Newburyport, and later Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. Parsons enumerated eighteen specific objections to the constitution, among them the omission of a bill of rights, to which the Brookline resolution called attention. His pamphlet had been adopted by a convention of Essex County towns which met during the first fortnight of May, 1778, in Ipswich, and the arguments contained in it gained wide circulation throughout the state.

The constitution was rejected by a total vote of 9972 to 2083, as much a consequence of the feeling that such an instrument ought to be drawn up by a convention specifically chosen for the purpose, as of the actual defects of the document submitted. The General Court therefore took steps the following spring to assemble a constitutional convention, and 312 representatives from the towns met September 1, 1779. The task of drafting a constitution was delegated to Samuel and John

Adams and James Bowdoin. With John Adams doing most of the work, the draft was submitted to the convention on October 28, 1779, and on March 2, 1780, the convention had it ready, in printed form, for submission to the people.

In Brookline this new 'form of Government' was discussed at a meeting on May 15 and 16. The constitution was first read through, and then minutely dissected. As a whole it proved acceptable, though there were a few reservations. The religious complexion of the town was emphasized by the recommendation of 'Dealing [*i.e.*, deleting] the word Christian and putting in Protestant.' An amendment was proposed which would avoid fixing permanent salaries during the period of inflation, since they would have to be very high, and there was no provision for their later reduction. And a minor change was sought in the matter of military obligations.

Altogether Brookline approved. So did the rest of the towns. Although, out of 363,000 inhabitants of the state, only 16,000 voted on the matter, the requisite majority of those voting was found, and the Constitution was duly ratified in the form in which it had been submitted. Brookline's cautious suggestions found no place in it.

But the town had played its full, honorable part in the war, and had discharged, with the help of able and conscientious representatives, its obligation to co-operate in setting up a new government. When the fighting came to an end, the men of Brookline returned to the farms which most of them had been so reluctant to leave, and the town meeting settled down to the relatively routine business of local administration.

RETAINING THE GAINS

However, one more resort to arms was necessary when, in the War of 1812, those liberties were threatened which the Revolution had won. The circumstances of that war bring it properly under the heading of this chapter, for it was in truth a part of the struggle for independence which, achieved in 1781, had to be reasserted some three decades later.

The War of 1812 was not popular in Massachusetts, where its threat was not greatly felt, and where interest in operations along the Canadian border to the westward was slight. Inter-

ference with commerce was deeply resented, and a minimum of encouragement was offered to the successful prosecution of the war, which was of primary concern to frontiersmen in the west, some of whom had illusions of appropriating vast Canadian territories.

The legislature expressed a strong disapproval of any military operations not immediately connected with home defense, and Governor Strong, on June 26, 1812, proclaimed a public fast in acknowledgment of the declaration of war. Some town meetings were emphatic in stating that they were interested only in the matter of their own defense. Massachusetts repudiated the Republican congressmen who had voted for the war, and turned more strongly Federalist than ever before.

The state was for peace and prosperity, and the merchant class was quite incapable of getting worked up over a doubtful issue of national honor when disruption of business must be part of the price. Yet Henry Adams says: 'That the war was as just and necessary as any war ever waged seemed so evident to Americans of another generation that only with an effort could modern readers grasp the reasons for the bitter opposition of large and respectable communities which left the government bankrupt and nearly severed the Union.'

Benjamin Goddard, a son of John Goddard of Revolutionary fame, was engaged with his brother Nathaniel in commerce. His diary through the years of war reflects the Federalist attitude. An entry of January 11, 1812, severely criticizes Governor Gerry for an anti-British speech, and on January 21 he discusses a newspaper reply to it.

The answer to the speech is in some degree an echo to it, representing the atrocious conduct of the British in capturing the American Property and retaining her sailors, etc., to the most exaggerated extreme and far beyond the truth, not even mentioning the conduct of the French although *they know their depredations exceed the former without proportion*. All this evidently for the purpose of raising and continuing a prejudice against the British nation, not because this nation is more unfriendly than France, but for the purpose of continuing the prejudices of the People against England.

Why is this the conduct of our Rulers? The answer is because this prejudice against England has a tendency to support the party in power more than any other expedient, as the truth, if known and understood by the people would oust from office and power and profit all those who have plundered the People of those men who have done and would continue to act for the good of the country.

Madison and his cabinet, Goddard thought, had 'got the affairs of the nation in such a scrape as will require the enlightened wisdom of the Federalists to get them out. So much for electing Jackanapes to rule over us.'

On June 13, 1812, he read a newspaper 'which breathes much of war.' Two days later he attended a Boston town meeting which expressed disapproval of the warlike activities of the government. But on June 23, 'A Declaration of War arrived in Boston which has filled every one with astonishment at this madness of our Mis-Rulers. The calamity to our country is not yet to be conceived of, time only will unfold what is to be the results.'

The diary denounces the expedition to Canada as an attack on harmless neighbors who had nothing to do with even the '*pretended*' causes of the war. On August 30 it reports the battle between the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*, and the entry for the next day admits that there was some feeling of elation in Boston. Mr. Goddard went frequently to Boston, and while he and most of his neighbors seem never to have relaxed their intense dislike of the war and the government they held responsible for it, they acknowledged a kind of reluctant enthusiasm as often as the Americans achieved any success at sea.

FOR DEFENSE ONLY

Not until 1814 did the town of Brookline take any official notice of the war. There is a record dated September 8 which does not relate to a formal town meeting, but recounts defensive activities by the selectmen and some citizens.

About this time every Town on the Sea Coast were apprehensive of a Visit from the British fleet and forces which had committed such wanton depredation in the southern States. Troops were daily assembling in and near Boston to

protect it from Invasion — about one third of the Militia in the Neighborhood were stationed in the forts in the Harbour. Many Inhabitants of Boston and Charlestown were removing their Valuable effects into the Country and securing for themselves a retreat in case of Invasion — It was in this state of things when the Selectmen and a few others being together — a subscription was Circulated among the Inhabitants exempt from Military duty, Inviting them to Equip themselves with arms &c compleat for service, Enroll themselves as a company and choose their own Officers and be subject to no others authority in their duty but in case of Invasion and the remaining part of the Militia should be called off[f] endeavor to protect ourselves and assist others as the commander of the company should think proper — For this purpose a special Meeting was called at an Early day when the proposition was Unanimously accepted and the Officers chosen which were General Isaac S. Gardner, Captain, Major John Robinson Lieutenant and Capt Joseph Goddard Ensign — A meeting of the company was appointed at a short notice for Examination and Drill when there was Assembled and enrolled between Forty and Fifty Eight compleat for immediate service except one Bayonet and about half a dozen carterich boxes which were principally furnished by the following meeting.

A meeting on November 7 voted unanimously to tender the personal services of the inhabitants of Brookline, following the example of Boston, 'Towards fortifying the Harbour by throwing up two forts on the Heights of South Boston and Noddles Island which would completely command the Harbour of Boston and the waters on the South of Dorchester point.'

Any effort for defense, but no encouragement for the war except on the home grounds. Some of the town's militiamen had been drafted for service in Fort Independence, and since this was clearly a matter of home defense, it was looked upon with favor by the town meeting of December 7, 1814, which decided to award the men a total bonus of \$320, less the value of provisions which the town had already furnished them. It does not appear how many of these soldiers there were, so the bonus to the individual cannot be arrived at.

This was the extent of Brookline's participation in a war

which the majority of her citizens regarded with the deepest disfavor. She had taken a stand for defense in 1775, and only defense mattered to her in 1812. Now the long struggle for independence was at an end, and men were eager to return to the productive pursuits of peace-time.

CHAPTER VIII

INDUSTRY AND THE WAYS OF TRADE

THERE is not a great deal to be said about the industrial life of a community devoted primarily to homes. From the time of its pastoral beginnings, Brookline has had a minimum of industry and commerce within its limits, though its citizens have engaged, with more than normal good fortune, in those same pursuits in the wider world, and their success has accounted in large measure for the charm of Brookline as a place of residence.

Prosperity in commerce depends largely upon the opportunities for trade; people must be able to receive their purchases, and disperse the goods they sell. Consequently, development of a flourishing commerce is intimately related to the development of means of transportation and communication — ships, highways, railways, and postal and telegraph services. The interest which men have in maintaining relations with their fellows accounts for their persistent concern with the improvement of streets and roads and means of correspondence.

Hence this chapter will attempt some account of the minor industries which have played a part in the history of Brookline, as well as of the more extensive interests of Brookline merchants, and the local efforts toward betterment of the ways of trade. For all of Brookline's apparent aloofness toward things commercial, her own long prosperity has inevitably resulted from the successes of many of her citizens in that direction.

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Even in the elementary economy of a frontier settlement, some processing of raw materials is essential before they can be used. Wheat and buckwheat and corn must be ground to provide flour and meal, if the grains are to be useful for human consumption. Hence the grist mill is ordinarily the first sign of industry in an agricultural community, and so it seems to have been in Muddy River.

Griffin Craft who, as has been indicated, was probably the first white settler in the region, is supposed to have had an interest in a grist mill on 'Muddy River Brooke,' and possibly also in a 'fulling leather miln.' In any event, a deed signed by his grandson, Samuel Crafts, and dated December 9, 1698, nine years after Griffin Craft's death, transferred a three-eighths interest in the grist mill and its lands, described as formerly the property of Griffin Craft. The same deed includes a similar interest in the fulling mill, a fact which suggests that it may have belonged to the same original proprietor.

Wool was spun and cloth woven in almost every colonial home, but fulling was a treatment requiring special equipment. The fulling mill therefore ordinarily played an early part in the economy of nearly every frontier village. Its function was as intimately related to essential clothing as that of the grist mill to essential food.

Another very early industry, which must have been a commercial venture quite unrelated to the immediate needs of the community, was a chocolate mill. No record of its origin or proprietorship remains, but the structure was located at the outlet of Willow Pond, which received the overflow from Jamaica Pond. When Miss Woods wrote in 1874, parts of a dam and flume were still to be seen there.

The chocolate mill was subsequently converted into a forge, and its water power used to run a trip-hammer in the manufacture of hoes and shovels. At the outbreak of the War of 1812, the forge was taken over by a man named Faxon, from Roxbury, who made some of the cannon used in the war.

It is not possible now to say whether the dam at the chocolate mill was built under some variation of the terms of an agreement signed by George Griggs in 1721, or whether the one referred to in that document was in connection with another venture. Griggs agreed with Joseph Craft and William Heath to 'build a dam adjoyning to muddi River Bridge,' but if it was erected at that site, it must later have been removed, without any record being made of the use to which it was put.

The first settlers in a wooded country may be content to erect crude, substantial homes of logs, but men of taste and a little prosperity soon require boards. Timbers and planks

may be hewn or hand-sawed, but such laborious devices are only preliminary to the establishment of a sawmill, which is one more of the basic industries of the frontier.

In Muddy River, this useful establishment was carried on by the euphoniously named Erosamon Drew, a native of Ireland who married Bethiah, the daughter of Vincent and Elizabeth Druce, and bought from his wife's parents a tract of sixty-four acres of wooded land near the present Newton line. There, on the brook which then served as the outlet of what was later called Hammond's Pond, Erosamon Drew built his sawmill, and like the inventor of the superior mouse-trap, saw his neighbors beat paths to his door. Indeed, in the course of laying out improved highways, there was more than one intimation that ready access to the sawmill was an important consideration.

A somewhat later development, though it was also a fundamental village industry, was the tannery owned by John Robinson and Enos Withington. As young men they are supposed to have been lured from Dorchester by the impressive preaching of the Reverend Joseph Jackson in Brookline. At any rate, they bought land from Robert Sharp in 1790, and established on the north side of Washington Street between Aspinwall and Corey Hills, the tannery that was to be carried on for nearly a century. Robinson married Withington's sister, and Withington himself in time turned from tanning to agriculture. Both lived to attain ripe years and marked honor in the community.

COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE

It is easy to fall into the modern habit of assuming that those pursuits only are industries which are carried on in shops, whereas there seems in fact no justification for such a distinction. The agriculture to which Brookline was devoted from its earliest days enjoyed at times the rank of a very important industry.

A student of land utilization would point out that the development of a frontier follows a cycle that is fairly easy to recognize, and that its phases are readily followed in Brookline. In the beginning, this was 'marginal' land, inconvenient of access

for the inhabitants of Boston, and used only as summer pasture for their stock. Then, as Boston grew and a shortage of land was felt on the peninsula, this grazing land was converted into farms. The next step came when the population of Boston became too large to be fed by the produce of gardens on the peninsula, and outlying farmers were able to dispose of their surplus to advantage. Quartering of British soldiery furthered this phase of the development.

During much of the time from the Revolution down to the Civil War, tillers of the soil in Brookline fed Boston, at a profit. No precise figures are available, but the general swing of economic history in New England helps to fix the period and the circumstances. About 1820 there began a movement of industry from homes to shops, and the foundations of the great mill towns were laid. This meant at once an increased urban population to be fed, and a decreased rural population to raise the food, for the mill workers were largely recruited among the young people on the farms. Prices of farm products consequently rose, and agriculture entered upon a period of prosperity that finally waned only with the opening of lands in the west suited to large-scale cultivation with machinery.

There was thus a period when the Boston market derived a great portion of its earliest and choicest fruits and vegetables from the market gardens carried on in Brookline on the Craft, White, Corey, Davis, Jones, Stearns, Griggs, Ward, and Coolidge properties. That this trade must have begun very early is attested by the appointment of Edward Kibby as clerk of the market for Muddy River in 1662. It is highly improbable that a market was held in the village as early as that, but Boston was already the market town for the hinterland, and every Thursday was market day, farmers driving in with their produce to the present site of the Old State House. Kibby was presumably appointed in order to give Muddy River representation at that market.

Charles H. Stearns has related an anecdote of one of Brookline's leading truck farmers of the period between 1840 and 1860 when this business was at its height. George Babcock took special pride in the yoke of steers which won him repeated first prizes at the Norfolk County Cattle Show in Ded-

ham, and in his early peas. On his property, north of Harvard Street, a hill rose abruptly not far from the road, leaving a narrow strip of land with southern exposure.

It was a sunny protected spot, and it was one of his ambitions to take in the first peas to Boston market and to have it recorded in the *Boston Post*.... It used to be a by-word among the farmers in the vicinity, perhaps prompted by jealousy, that Mr. Babcock used to go out on some mild February day with his men and make holes through the frost with a crowbar, to put in his seed peas, in order to ensure an early crop.

There seems also to have been a brisk traffic in the bulkier farm products within the town. What the trade was in grain and feed among neighbors we have no means of knowing, but on May 2, 1826, it was 'Voted to build the most approved Hayscale.' In 1842 there was an appropriation of three hundred dollars for new hay scales, which were ordered removed from Washington Street ten years later, to a new location to be chosen by the selectmen. In 1855, the selectmen were authorized to spend three hundred dollars to erect scales at Beacon and Harvard Streets, and new scales were ordered again in 1860. All of which is fair evidence that people were weighing things on those scales every day, and weighing them so that they might know the quantity of goods being bought and sold.

While streams flowed through the village, they might quench the thirst of untold thousands of cattle, and no one today be the wiser for it. But the streams were gradually diverted, and covered, and otherwise made inaccessible, and our only positive evidence that there was an important movement of cattle on the hoof through Brookline to the Brighton slaughter houses as late as 1871, is the town's appropriation of five hundred dollars that year to provide watering places for them.

THE GREAT WORLD

But if, at home, Brookline's interests were simple and her commerce unpretentious, her part in the wide-flung trade of the greater world was both colorful and impressive. Something has been told of the adventures of Dr. John Goddard



BABCOCK HILL AND POND

Looking across to Harvard Street from Babcock Street

who sought, during the Revolutionary War, to go to Spain and buy supplies with which to set up an apothecary's shop. A letter written in Brookline in 1827 gives account of another family with commercial interests:

Mrs. Walley has twelve children one son in Smyrna in the midst of the Greeks & Turks one in South America & one who has just returned from Porto Cabello — he and his brother were merchants — the troops marched into their town & their store being the most comfortable one in the place — Bolivar took it for his own quarters — more of this when I see you.

Susanna, daughter of Captain Benjamin White, married Nathaniel Seaver who, before 1790, was engaged in world commerce. Their second son, Benjamin Franklin Seaver, died on a business voyage to South America. In 1792, Nathaniel Seaver, with his eldest son, also Nathaniel, a lad of sixteen, sailed on his ship *Commerce* from Madras for Bombay. The first mate was David Ockington, also a Brookline man.

Adverse winds drove them far off their course to a point midway on the southern coast of Arabia, while they believed themselves to be off the Malabar coast. Then the ship was wrecked, and they set out in open boats for Muscat, four hundred miles to eastward, but storms drove them ashore. Of the crew of twenty white men and seventeen Lascar sailors, three were drowned in landing, among them the younger Seaver.

The survivors were attacked by Arabs and robbed of all their possessions, even their clothing. Then began the long, almost waterless march along a desert shore toward Muscat, where eight white survivors arrived a month later. Nathaniel Seaver perished by the way, but David Ockington returned at length to Brookline. It was all a part of what a man must be prepared to meet if he would go out into the world to do business.

However, usual though it was for a merchant to go in person from time to time in his own ships, those whose business attained large proportions were increasingly obliged to devote themselves to executive direction from their offices ashore.

Successful administration required a wide and accurate knowledge of commodities and markets, and a vast amount of attention to detail, when orders must be issued anticipating conditions weeks or months in the future. Perhaps the merchant's problems can be no better understood than from two letters of Nathaniel Goddard, who has been mentioned heretofore. He was interested in South American trade with Chile, imported rice, China teas, and Calcutta goods, dealt on a large scale in Russia and Manila hemp, and had extensive other interests. When one of Mr. Goddard's captains sailed, he was told exactly what to do:

A MERCHANT'S ORDERS

Boston, September 23, 1817

To Capt. John W. Allen.

Sir: — You being master of the brig 'Governor Brooks' now in this harbor and ready for sea, it is my wish that you will improve the first fair wind and proceed to New Orleans with all possible despatch; on your arrival there you will please to deliver the articles of cargo on board on my account to Messrs. Richardson & Fisk for sale and those on freight to the several consignees, they paying you freight on the same which you will please reserve to defray your port charges. You will employ Messrs. Richardson & Fisk to procure a balance of freight for the brig for some European port, which port you will be notified of on your arrival by letters which I shall forward to you and also to the above gentlemen in season for the purpose. I shall forward funds which with the proceeds of merchandise on board I shall request to have invested immediately in cotton and tobacco and shipped as occasion may require, respecting which I shall write the consignees from time to time; but you will bear in mind that I prefer a reasonable freight for the vessel at all times to shipping on my own account, and if one and one-half pence sterling per pound or upwards can be had without any loss of time for hard-pressed cotton, take this on freight to the exclusion of my property which may remain subject to my future disposal; but as a part of my present investment is ordered in tobacco, it may be necessary to decide immediately on discharging whether she can be filled up without loss of time, as in case I am obliged to ship a part

of my tobacco must go into the bottom of the vessel. Many vessels will be directly after yours, therefore you will see the importance of despatch and that some cargo is ready to go on board before all is taken out. You will be careful that neither officers nor men take any contraband goods on board or attempt to smuggle any article. You will also attend to and see that your business is properly attended to by the commission merchants you employ or who do the business of the brig, and that no commission is charged you on money advanced to pay disbursements, and in case you take passengers find no wine nor spirits for their use. Should you at any time on your voyages visit any port in England or Ireland and leave said port without any freight for any other part of the world, please to clear for the same port you arrived from. This saves half the tonnage or light money. When you return to the United States make your manifest and report for some other port than the one you arrive at; this will enable you to go to a second port without discharging, if it is necessary in order to find a better market. You will, if in Europe and you receive no counter orders, cause to be remitted the proceeds of all your freights to Samuel Williams, Esq., Merchant, No. 13 Finsbury Square, London, for my account. You will keep me advised from time to time of the progress you make by every good conveyance by water to this place direct or via New York, and while in New Orleans please to write by mail weekly.

Boston, September 24, 1817

Messrs. Richardson & Fisk
(New Orleans)

Gentlemen: — Your Mr. Fisk has undoubtedly informed you of my intention of sending to your house my brig 'Governor Brooks,' John W. Allen, master, for a freight for Europe and also of forwarding funds by mail for the purchase of cotton and tobacco in addition to sundry articles on board and freight, which articles I wish sold and the amount also invested as hereafter requested, to wit: immediately on the arrival of the vessel I wish her put up for freight for Havre; my brother, Mr. William Goddard, and my nephew, Mr. Samuel Goddard, have agreed to ship a quantity of cotton in her and I have no doubt but they have forwarded funds and orders for purchasing it; if with this freight agreed

for a sufficient quantity of a fair rate of freight shall offer while discharging her outward cargo, you will commence loading and send her off without loss of time. In the meantime and as soon as you receive this you will commence purchasing for my account without delay and continue as you shall be in funds until you complete a purchase of one hundred hogsheads all of the first quality of tobacco, provided the price shall not exceed seven cents per pound (and I hope it will be very much under). The balance of my funds including the proceeds of property on board invest in the first quality and no other of new cotton, and should this first quality of new cotton be as low or lower than twenty-eight cents per pound at any time you may draw on me at sixty days sight for \$5000 more and invest this also. I shall be pleased to find that you are able to anticipate the amount of the proceeds of merchandise on board to add to my other funds. I will enclose an invoice of this property that you may have some guide to dispose of it by. The sheetings are very good having been selected by one of the best judges in St. Petersburg and cost an extra price, but the Ravens duck is as good if not superior to any ever imported into the United States and cost in Russia more than the common kind retails at here. The boards are a common kind and the mackerel also; the molasses hogsheads were picked up by a cooper and cost an extra price and I hope you will obtain one for them. The New England rum is as good as any and the barrels ought to be paid for, but in this particular you will have to conform to the custom of the place. I shall forward funds to the amount of \$20,000 as good safe opportunity may offer. The brig sailed for your city this day; I forgot to speak respecting her, but will merely say that she is inferior to no one ever built. I think it is probable that the articles in my invoice would net me as much sold from the levee as in any way, with the exception perhaps of the duck sheetings and rum, and a part of them may sell as well. The report here is that tobacco can be had at five and a quarter cents per pound; I hope it may, but if not you may go as high as seven cents.

LEADERS IN COMMERCE

The eminent Cabot family came to Brookline just before the close of the eighteenth century, when George Cabot



'GREEN HILL,' THE GODDARD HOUSE ON WARREN STREET
Built about 1732 by Nehemiah Davis; afterwards owned by George Cabot and by members
of the Higginson, Babcock, and Goddard families

bought the Green Hill estate on Warren Street. He was a brother-in-law of Captain Joseph Lee, under whom he first went to sea as cabin boy, experiencing a severe discipline which eventually qualified him for his own command. Later they became partners in the firm of Lee and Cabot, which for many years carried on a large trade with the West Indies, Spain, and the Baltic.

After he retired from the sea and settled in Brookline, Captain Cabot was elected to the United States Senate, where he served from 1791 to 1796. Subsequently his great-grandson, Henry Cabot Lodge, was also to be a senator from Massachusetts. According what seems to have been a proper deference to his practical experience as a sailor, President John Adams in 1798 appointed George Cabot to be the first Secretary of the Navy.

George Cabot's descendants played an increasingly important part in public affairs. His daughter married President Kirkland of Harvard; one of his sons became the grandfather of Henry Cabot Lodge. Much of the family's distinction has gone unacknowledged because of the marriage of daughters and their assumption of new names; but the Cabots were among the first of the Boston merchant families to find a happy retreat in Brookline, while the town's charm grew with the acquisition of such residents.

It was, then, men of this caliber who reached out from the wharves of Boston day after day to feel the pulse of the world, and whose daily diagnosis of world markets accounted in time for so many of the splendid estates of residential Brookline. A home in this most beautiful and most accessible of rural suburbs was well worth striving for, and if there were some who felt the call of business so insistently that Brookline could be only a summer refuge for their families, there were others who looked upon it as a haven of retirement.

Thomas Handasyd Perkins was a Boston merchant who, after wide success, made Brookline his home. He was one of eight children whose widowed mother possessed both domestic and commercial talents. His eldest brother, James, went as a young man to San Domingo in a ship partly owned by their mother. There he established a business house in which

Thomas later joined him, eventually to be replaced by another brother, Samuel. Thomas returned to assume charge of the Boston end of the business, and began to be active in the tea trade with Canton. When the slave insurrection in San Domingo in 1792 ruined the Perkins business there, the brothers turned their attention to the north Pacific coast and China, and in time established a branch house at Canton. Both James Perkins and Samuel G. Perkins also became residents of Brookline.

In fact, most Bostonians who rejoiced in a sense of spaciousness, in the beauty of sweeping lawns and spreading elms, in rural charm at its most gracious — were attracted to Brookline. Many who possessed abundant fortunes made the town their home, contributing liberally to the attractiveness as well as the wealth of the community. And thus commerce, if somewhat deviously, helped to make Brookline what it became.

STREETS AND HIGHWAYS

A more direct reflection of the influence of growing trade and the concern of wealthy residents for adequate transportation, was manifest in the demand for more convenient access to various parts of the village, as well as to Boston and the country to the west and north. It is significant that, during the earlier agitation for turnpikes or toll roads, as in the case of a number of railroads, Brookline opposed the development.

In 1825 the selectmen were instructed to remonstrate to the Legislature against the proposed turnpike to Holliston through Brookline. But if the Legislature was unimpressed, then the town's representative was to 'be instructed to make the best terms he can for the accommodation of the Inhabitants of the Town.' Again, in 1833, a committee was appointed to appear before the county commissioners and oppose construction of a road from Dorchester to Boston through Brookline. This attitude presumably indicated, not a lack of interest in good roads, but a conviction that citizens would not derive sufficient advantage from the proposed construction to justify the added expense to which they would almost certainly be put. For one thing, the routing of a turnpike through the town meant more



MRS. SAMUEL CABOT (1792-1885)



THOMAS HANDASYDE PERKINS (1764-1854)

Father and daughter, from whom many prominent citizens of Brookline have descended

traffic and an increased burden for the maintenance of streets over which that traffic passed.

But there was an undeniable need for communication with the country to the westward. Before 1690 a half-dozen towns had been settled in the Connecticut Valley, to say nothing of numerous others in the eastern half of the state, and by the time of the Revolution the greater part of the intervening lands had been taken up. Commercial intercourse with these settlements was inevitable. Worcester had been founded in 1684, but was temporarily abandoned, and not actually established until after 1720. By 1806 it was a sufficiently important center to justify the General Court in incorporating the proprietors of the Boston and Worcester Turnpike, and that same year Colonel Isaac S. Gardner, Ebenezer Heath, and Jonathan Hammond were made a committee to confer with the turnpike agents about the road 'from Mr Goddards land to Mr Heath's corner and to do what in their Judgement may be most for the Benefit of the Town respecting the Same.'

WESTWARD TRAVEL

The history of the old Worcester Turnpike may be taken as characteristic of that of the principal highways of the time, for it followed Indian trails of immemorial origin. Edward Wild Baker has stated ¹ that the earliest English travelers were John Oldham and Samuel Hall, who, with two others, started for Connecticut in 1633 to seek a place for settlement.

Knowing of the trail used by the Indians [who brought corn from Woodstock, Connecticut] three years earlier, they followed it from Watertown, because they realized that it would be the easiest line of travel; would strike the fording or crossing-places of streams, avoid bad swamps, and, what was of equal if not greater importance, would take them by the Indian villages scattered along the route, where they could obtain food and lodging.

Other pioneers started out by the same route, and little by little the original trail became recognized as an established line of travel. Followed by larger parties and by those who

¹ Passages quoted here and in the succeeding pages of this chapter are from an account of the old Worcester turnpike delivered before the Brookline Historical Society by Edward Wild Baker, and printed in its *Proceedings* for 1907.

took their families, their horses and cattle, the faintly marked path became deeply worn and clearly defined. It was known as 'the way to Connecticut,' and the early records of grants of land in what are today Wayland, Sudbury, Marlborough, and other towns specify areas of more or less acres along the 'Connecticut Path,' as it was designated, which, after it became still more broadly marked, was named the 'Connecticut Road.'

In what is now Wayland, formerly a part of Sudbury, the old path forked. The northern branch, passing through Marlborough, Worcester, and Brookfield, was known as the 'Bay Path,' and extended straight to the Connecticut River and the settlement of Agawam, now the City of Springfield.

The building of that first bridge at Muddy River was the initial step toward making this a serviceable wagon road westward from Boston. Then in 1640 it was laid out in crude fashion as far as Watertown, to be somewhat bettered in 1657, when the road to Watertown mill was made 'four rods in breadth and directed by markt trees.' By successive increments the road was pushed westward, at once obliterating and emphasizing the earlier trail.

ACCOMMODATION FOR TRAVELERS

As a necessity supplied creates another want, so the development of the old road by constant travel in both directions created the demand for stopping places at convenient points, where refreshment and lodging for man and beast could be obtained. The 'ordinary' of colonial days, as it was then called, and the 'tavern' of later periods, supplied the wants of travellers from Boston to all outlying points and distant places...

Some of the early laws regulating the old inns, ordinaries or taverns, make interesting reading today. To mention only a few particulars: the law provided that 'all public houses shall be on or near the high streets, roads and places of great resort'; inn-holders were required to be furnished with suitable provisions for the refreshment and entertainment of strangers and travellers, pasturing, stableroom, hay and provender for horses, on pain of being deprived of their license; and 'no licensed person shall sell oats for more than one penny the quart'; taverners were forbidden to have or

keep in or about their houses, out-houses, yards, gardens or places to them belonging, any dice, cards, tables, bowls, shuffleboard, billiards, coyts, cales, logats or any other implements used in gaming.

Apprentices, servants or negroes were not allowed to have any manner of drink except with their master's special order, and no inhabitant of the town where the inn was located, or from any other town, except travellers or persons upon business or extraordinary occasions, was to be permitted to sit drinking or tippling for more than the space of one hour. Taverners were strictly forbidden to entertain Pedlars, particularly if they were selling indigo or feathers, and no drinking or tippling was to be permitted after nine o'clock in the night. Singing, fiddling, piping or any other Musick, dancing or revelling were not by law to be suffered or exercised in any tavern. If the Inn-holder saw fit to give credit, the law passed in 1726 said that all above ten shillings should be forfeited, and action to recover any such debt was barred. All these and many more regulations were intended to carry out the declaration of the law-makers of long ago, — that, 'Forasmuch as the ancient, true and principal use of inns, taverns, ale-houses, victualling houses and other houses for common entertainment, is for the Receipt, relief and lodging of travellers and strangers and the refreshment of persons upon lawful business, or for the necessary supply of the wants of such poor persons as are not able by greater quantities to make their provision of victuals and are not intended for the entertainment of lewd or idle people to spend or consume their money or time there, — therefore, Be it enacted, etc.'

Each tavern or inn was also required to have a sign affixed to the house or in some conspicuous place near the same, and if for any reason the license was revoked then the sign should at once be taken down.

The tavern was usually the only public place in town — except the meeting house on the days of worship — where the people were accustomed to congregate. Therefore the publishment board, the pillory, the stocks, and all other features of public interest centered about the tavern. If any amusement came into town or was arranged for by local citizens, it was at or near the tavern if possible. For example, this advertisement appeared in the *Boston Evening Post* of January 11, 1773:

'This is to give notice that there will be a Bear and a num-

ber of turkeys set up as a mark next Thursday Beforenoon at the Punch Bowl Tavern in Brookline.'

There were two other taverns in Brookline, besides the Punch Bowl. Dana's Tavern stood facing the present Harvard square, approximately where Rhodes Brothers' store now is. It was burned in 1816. Richards Tavern, or Richards Hotel, as it was sometimes called, was built [on the Sherburne road] by Elhanan Winchester, Sr., father of the famous preacher, about 1770, with the assistance of his brethren of the 'New Lights,' as they were called. It was a large house and had a good-sized hall or room for their meetings. The house passed through the possession of Ebenezer and Joseph White to Ebenezer Richards, who kept it as a public house. It faced Heath street, near where Hammond street now crosses. The Worcester turnpike passed close by and just to the rear of the house, where was located one of the turnpike gates with the toll house for the gatekeeper....

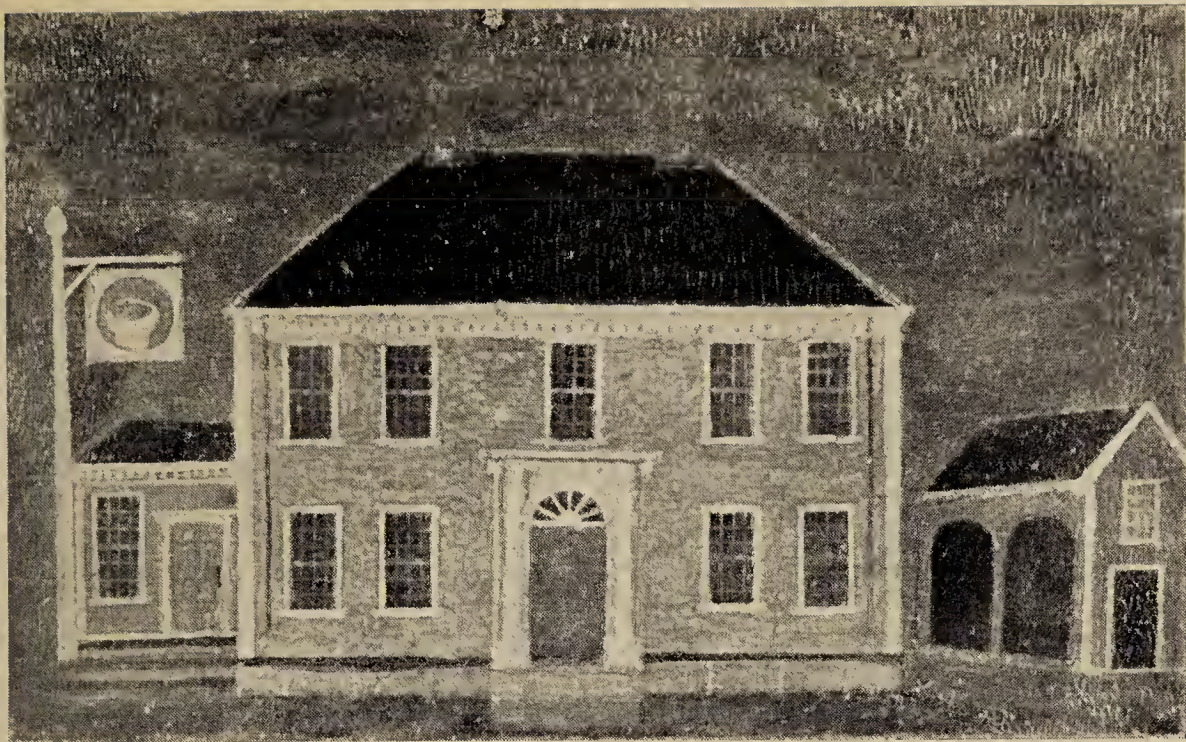
It must have been a busy place in front of the old tavern in Punch Bowl Village with all the through travel from the towns to the west. We can imagine the crowd of the idle, the curious, the news-gatherers and those with some definite purpose gathered about the tavern, in tap room and on the benches outside, watching for what was the event of the day, the coming, stopping and driving away of the New York stages.

TRAFFIC ON THE HIGHWAY

Post riders on horseback commenced a mail service in the first half of the century, which took about three weeks between Boston and Philadelphia. This time was cut to fifteen days in 1755, and in 1772 J. & N. Brown started their stage line between Boston and New York on a thirteen-day schedule. That venture was short-lived, but in 1774 a weekly post service was undertaken between Hartford and Boston, through Worcester, a six-days' journey.

Then Levi Pease and Reuben Sikes, Connecticut men, commenced in 1783 the first successful stage line, and operated it until railroad competition became too serious. Their initial rate was 4*d.* a mile. By 1786, says Mr. Baker,

the running time in summer had been reduced so much that



THE PUNCH BOWL TAVERN AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE TOWN
Built about 1717; much enlarged later, torn down in 1833



RICHARDS TAVERN, THE OLD STAGE TAVERN ON HEATH
STREET NEAR HAMMOND STREET

Built by Elhanan Winchester, Sr., about 1770. A toll house
was at the back on the Turnpike

a traveller could leave Boston Monday morning and reach New York the following Thursday evening, so that, as the advertisement reads, 'by this unparalleled speed, a merchant may go from Boston to New York and return again in less than ten days, which is truly wonderful,' and adds further for the information of the travelling public, 'it is the most convenient and expeditious way of travelling that can be had in America, and in order to render it the cheapest, the price is lowered from 4*d.* to 3*d.* per mile, with liberties to passengers to take 14 pounds ¹ of baggage.'...

For over one hundred and fifty years the 'great road' was the trunk line to Worcester, but the zenith of its glory was reached just one hundred years ago,² when, so far as 'rapid transit' was concerned, it was rendered quite out of date by the building of the Worcester Turnpike in 1806 and 1807.

It was supposed that this turnpike would give the maximum speed in the minimum time because it was laid out on the simple mathematical principle that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points. The turnpike engineers paid little attention to grades, and seemingly forgot that the actual distance travelled may be as long over a hill as around its base, to say nothing of the greater effort to the traveller climbing up one side and holding back when going down on the other.

The general act of legislature under which the Worcester Turnpike was incorporated, specified minutely the type of road which must be built, the manner in which it must be laid out, and the fashion in which tolls might be collected, at gates not less than ten miles apart. These were:

For each coach, chariot, phaeton, or other four-wheel spring carriage drawn by two horses — 25*c.*, and 2*c.* for each additional horse.

For every wagon drawn by two horses — 10*c.*, and 2*c.* for each additional horse.

For every cart or wagon drawn by two oxen — 10*c.* and if by more than two, 12 1/2*c.*

For every curricule — 15*c.*

For every chaise, chair, sulkey, or other carriage for pleasure, drawn by one horse — 12 1/2*c.*

¹ A weight possibly fixed because the English unit of weight called a 'stone' is 14 pounds. — J. G. C.

² Mr. Baker's article was published in 1907.

For every cart, wagon or truck drawn by one horse —
6 1/4c.

For every man and horse — 4c.

For every sleigh or sled drawn by two oxen or horses — 8c.,
and 1c. for each additional ox or horse.

For all horses, mules or neat cattle led or driven besides
those in teams or carriages — 1c. each.

Swine or sheep — 3c. by the dozen.

Half-rate was imposed on wagons with wheels six inches wide or more, and from the rates above it appears that sleds and sleighs were regarded as wearing the Heaven-sent snow more than the man-made highway, with an according reduction in tariff. Exemptions were allowed foot travelers, those going to or returning from worship, those on military duty, those living in a town where a gate was located, provided they were not going beyond the limits of the town, and those going to the grist mill or about other domestic concerns. Yet, despite all this, there seems to have been a good deal of unconscionable evasion of tolls.

The total capitalization of the turnpike company was only \$150,000, not a large sum for the construction of forty miles of highway. It contributed materially to the development and prosperity of the towns along the way, but very little to the proprietors. In 1809 they were permitted to erect additional toll gates, subdividing the road, and collecting a proportionate sum for the use of short sections, but even this device never made possible a dividend of six per cent, and eventually the entire capital was lost.

Norfolk County Commissioners in 1832 were petitioned by a committee of the turnpike corporation to take over as a public highway that section of the turnpike between the Kimball Tavern in Needham and the Punch Bowl in Brookline. The following year official steps were taken to accomplish this, over the objection of the Brookline town meeting, which felt that the cost of maintenance was an unwelcome added burden on the town. However, payment of five hundred dollars by the corporation toward needed repairs resulted in withdrawal of the opposition.

From that time down to 1870 there were numerous changes

along the line of the road within the limits of Brookline. Parts were widened, relocated, changed in grade, but no sweeping revision was made. Then in 1900 the sum of \$300,000 was spent on widening the way from Cypress Street to the Newton line.

THE WORCESTER TURNPIKE

As the Indian trail merged into the path and the path grew into the road [says Mr. Baker], as the road became the 'King's Highway' to be in turn succeeded by the straight-away turnpike, — so, in the evolution of transportation facilities, the turnpike, travelled night and day by the express stage-lines, filled its place in the history of that evolution, and, with some spasmodic resistance, succumbed before the iron horse, puffing and whistling along the steel-railed right of way.

Stagecoach and tavern days reached the high level of their development along the line from Boston to Worcester from 1830 to 1835, after which the once popular route took its place in history as the 'Old Worcester Turnpike,' its usefulness almost entirely taken away by the completion of the Boston and Worcester steam railroad.

In 1831 and 1832, there were one hundred and six stagecoach lines running out of Boston in different directions, and time-tables of the various lines were published regularly. How many stage lines passed through Brookline [cannot be stated definitely]; but it was estimated that in 1831 the average amount of travelling between Boston and Worcester — the bulk of which passed through Brookline over the turnpike — was equal to 22,360 passages per annum, for which the lowest fare was two dollars and the shortest time six hours.

In 1905 the electric lines over almost the same route — exactly the same until some distance beyond Framingham — carried 10,279,303 *paying* passengers, of which 401,478 were through travellers *between Boston and Worcester*.

Radiating from Worcester, connecting with the Boston stages, were many other lines, and they continued for years before the steam railroads supplanted them. The owner of the most important of these radiating lines, with one hundred and fifty horses and controlling stage routes aggregating two hundred and eighty-six miles, was Ginery Twichell, who later resided in Brookline on Kent street, and became

a member of Congress. He started as a postrider and stage-driver and gradually became one of the great men, not only in that business, but in the steam railroad business, which took its place. A lithograph was published in 1850 picturing a man galloping along the road in a driving snowstorm, entitled, 'The unrivaled express rider Ginery Twichell, who rode from Worcester to Hartford, a distance of sixty miles, in three hours and twenty minutes through a deep snow January 23, 1846.'

Although many changes in Brookline have been noted, the turnpike road received little attention in the towns beyond after the proprietors surrendered the charter and it became a public highway. It suffered the usual vicissitudes of the ordinary country road and repairs were made only when necessary. Other roads which avoided the steep grades and long hard climbs made true the old saying that 'the longest way round is the shortest way home.'

There was little if any through travel, and except for short stretches through the populous sections of towns, it retained not a shadow of its former popularity. Moss-covered stone walls or dilapidated weather-beaten fences marked its bounds; with here and there a turnout to enable the thirsty horses or cattle to drink from some clear-watered brook which flowed lazily under the roadway. The quiet and peacefulness along the way was undisturbed except by the clatter of the bell on some cow's neck as she fed along the faintly marked side-path on the way to and from the nearby pasture.

After more than a half-century of neglect, the old turnpike became the route of the interurban electric line from Boston to Worcester, and by 1930 this service had been abandoned, and the construction of the most modern type of dual, high-speed motor highway was in progress.

COMMUNICATION WITH BOSTON

If the history of the Worcester Turnpike is the history of westward movement over a period of nearly three centuries, it was by no means the only or necessarily the principal factor in the travel and commerce of nineteenth-century Brookline. The natural route to Boston was over Roxbury Hill and across the neck, a longish walk for shoppers from Brookline, though

plenty of them negotiated it in that fashion rather than pay the twenty-five-cent fare exacted by Eliphalet Spurr who for a year or two, about 1816, had undertaken to operate a stage twice daily.

Application of the air-line principle of the turnpike engineers pointed out a very much more direct way between Brookline and Boston. Except that it was flooded by the tides, the route had a lot in its favor. Development of the Mill Dam Road came as a kind of collateral to an industrial project. It is described in a manuscript by Edward Wild Baker, in whose words the story may appropriately be told.¹

It sounds paradoxical — but you know it is true — that we go down in the subway to take a train on the 'elevated.' It sounds equally paradoxical, but it is equally true, that we today go from Colonel Gardner's corner to the subway over the hills of Needham. You will understand the subway paradox, but what about the hills of Needham?

It seems almost impossible to realize that less than one hundred years ago the great basin of the Charles River spread its waters over all the area now bounded by Charles Street, Park Square and Pleasant Street, almost to Washington Street, then by a winding shore line along the narrow Boston Neck to the uplands of Roxbury, close to the present Roxbury Crossing.

All of that area, and more, which was once covered by the tides, along the shores of which were the many public landing places for the traffic by boats, is now filled in — *made* land, so called — giving the city its West End and the fashionable 'Back Bay' section — all made by the skill and labor of man.

The first step in this great undertaking, which, more than any other event, determined the future of Boston and led to a complete change in its physical conformation, was the building of the Mill Dam, known to us today as Beacon street. This dam was built from the Common, at the corner of Charles street and old Beacon street, across the great basin of the Charles River to the uplands in Brookline at Sewall's Point, a distance of 2640 yards, or a little over one and a half miles. The Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation began this work under the authority of the General

¹ Mr. Baker's manuscript is quoted until otherwise indicated.

Court passed in 1814. The purpose, in the minds of the proprietors, was to utilize the water power of the tides for manufacturing purposes; but, as Kipling says, that is another story.

This dam was constructed so as to provide a good and substantial road and the proprietors were to be allowed to charge tolls, as soon as another dam, with roadway, should be built from the end of the main dam at Sewall's Point to the Punch Bowl Tavern in Brookline Village. Tolls were not to be charged, however, until the sides were railed and the road was furnished with lamps, all to the satisfaction of the selectmen.

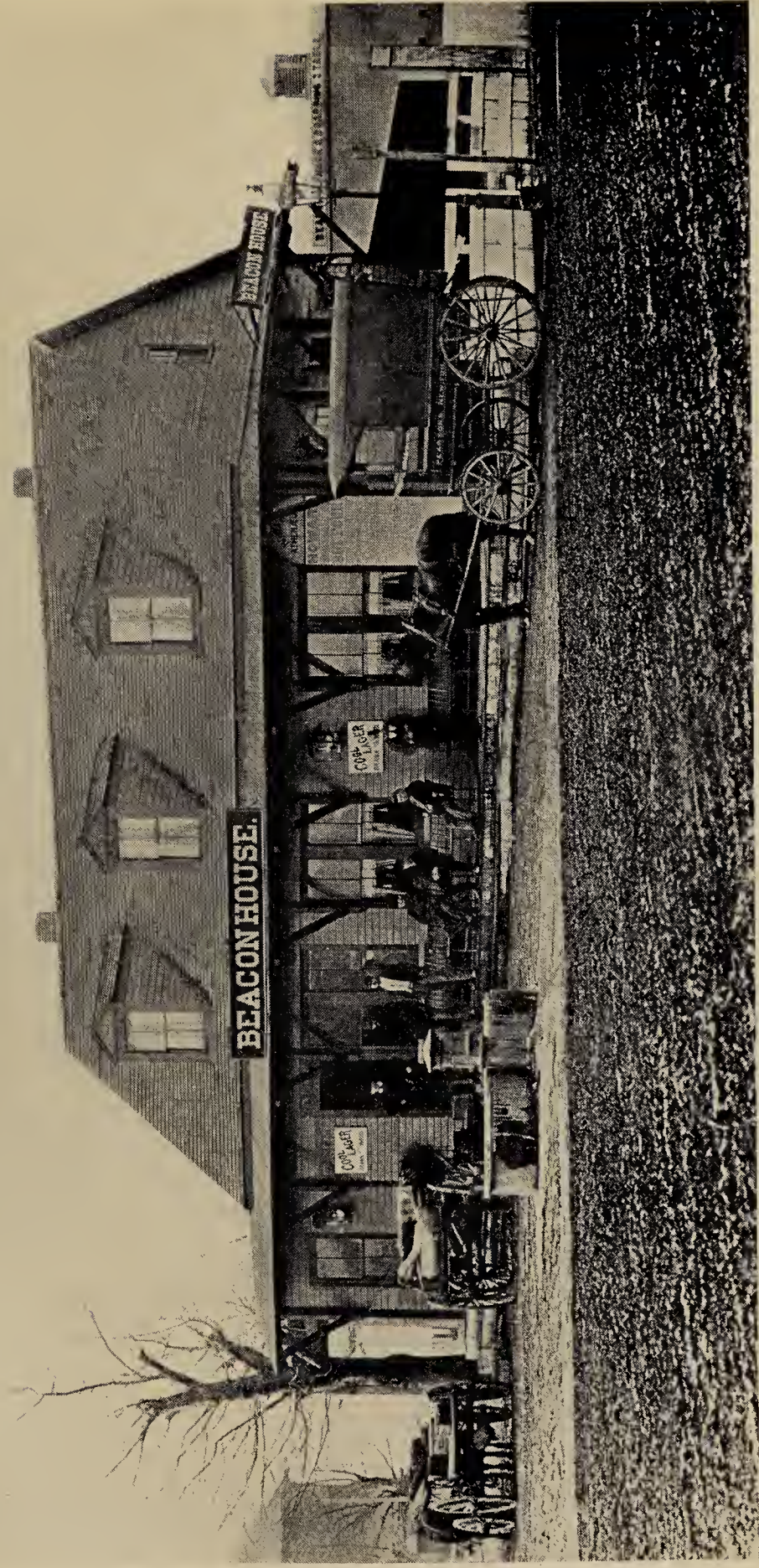
Another roadway was built from Sewall's Point, easterly, through Brookline to Brighton Church, intersecting the old road to the colleges at the point [now marked by a tablet] where the Colonel Thomas Gardner house stood [at what is now the corner of Harvard and Brighton Avenues in Allston], and later this road was continued as a turnpike to Watertown, by the arsenal grounds.

John G. Hales, writing in 1821, says of this Mill Dam Road: 'The different roads to Brighton are generally good, and the country through which they pass agreeably pleasant, but the one just completed from the Mill-dam will be far the most preferable, not only in point of distance, but the projectors seem to have spared neither pains or expense in cutting through the acclivities and filling up the hollows, making the plane nearly level, and the best and hardest materials that could be obtained hath been used in forming the surface thereof.'

THE MILL DAM ROAD

The Mill Dam was completed in 1821 and was opened to public travel with a grand procession and similar features of celebration.

But there was much opposition to this project. For instance one remonstrant wrote a letter which was published in the *Daily Advertiser* of June 14, 1814, with these words: 'Citizens of Boston! Have you ever visited the Mall? Have you ever inhaled the Western Breeze fragrant with perfume, refreshing in every sense and invigorating every nerve? What think you of converting that beautiful sheet of water which skirts the Common into an empty mud basin, reeking with



BEACON HOUSE ON THE MILL DAM

Where Beacon Street, Brookline Avenue, and Brighton Street (now Commonwealth Avenue) diverged

filth, abhorrent to the smell, and disgusting to the eye? By all the Gods of sea, or lake or fountain, it is incredible!’

Although it was many years before this direful prophecy was verified, at last it became only too true, and it was because the Back Bay, the basin of the confined tide waters, with its flats and other menaces to the public health, became such an intolerable nuisance that finally by state authority and under state ownership, the Back Bay was filled in with clean gravel, and this clean gravel was brought there train-load after train-load from the distant gravel hills in Needham — which completes the truth of the paradox.¹

The roads over the Mill Dam continued as toll roads until, under authority of the legislature, they were laid out as public highways. In November, 1868, the town of Brookline accepted so much of the main dam as lay within the town limits, as a public street called Beacon Street; the easterly fork was accepted as Brighton Avenue, and the westerly fork as Brookline Avenue. The town of Brighton took like action in regard to the easterly fork and at last we have the closing chapter in the story of that corner where the bronze tablet marks the site of the old house of Colonel Thomas Gardner.²

Mr. Baker’s account of the Mill Dam, however, scarcely touches upon the two-year controversy that raged around the laying out and building of the road from the Mill Dam to Washington Street, the Beacon Street of today. George Griggs first urged it, but there was strong remonstrance by other citizens, presumably on the ground of expense, and in the town meeting of March 4, 1850, his motion was lost by a vote of 50 to 42. The next month, his efforts to have the town withdraw its opposition to the county commissioners’ laying out the road, were defeated by a vote of 81 to 73.

The town was almost equally divided on the subject, and the rival factions became very bitter. However, in October of the same year, a committee was appointed to find out what the road might be expected to cost, and how much the mill com-

¹ It is curious to find in Herman Melville’s *Moby Dick*, Chapter XCIX, this sentence: ‘And some certain significance lurks in all things, else all things are little worth, and the round world itself but an empty cipher, except to sell by the cart-load, as they do hills about Boston, to fill up some morass in the Milky Way.’ — J. G. C.

² This concludes Mr. Baker’s manuscript.

pany might be induced to contribute. Finally, in December, on the petition of Daniel Sanderson and others, it was decided to go ahead with the project, and a committee was named to superintend the matter.

When George Griggs as chairman made the committee's report to the special meeting of October 15, 1851, he commented on the fact that public projects of the kind invariably cost more than had been estimated. Added expense had resulted in the instant case, he said, from the fact that the mill corporation's contribution of two thousand dollars had been made contingent on completion of the work within one year from October 8, 1850.

The difference between having only 90 days to do the work in and having nearly a year [said the report] made the cost undoubtedly more, as the inconvenience of working on the marsh when it was not frozen, and of not allowing the contractors so much time as they wanted, undoubtedly added very considerably to the expense. This difficulty would have been avoided if those who remonstrated against the laying out of the road had not opposed its laying out till the very last, and induced the commissioners to postpone their decision until they could be fully heard. It certainly must be a satisfaction to all those who opposed the laying out of the Road to know that by their efforts the objections against the Road were fully and ably stated to the Commissioners, and that they did not act hastily, rashly, nor without due deliberation and a pretty thorough and full examination of the merits of the question before them. If in consequence of this delay the additional cost of the Road does not cause others to complain, the committee do not think that it will become those who caused this additional cost to be either very loud or bitter in their complaints.

That these harsh words carried a sting is borne out by the fact that

On motion of Marshal Stearns, seconded by J. Davenport, it was —

Voted, That all that part of said report which relates to the remonstrants against the laying out of the Road be struck out.

The report as thus amended was then accepted.

Then there was the aftermath of a controversy over the claims of the principal contractor for the construction of the road, a matter finally settled by arbitration. Meanwhile the committee reported again, at the meeting of March 8, 1852, when chairman Griggs seems to have been in mellower mood, for with the tabulation of expenditures he included this somewhat poetic prose:

The committee would earnestly recommend to the proprietors of land abutting on the new road... that, where it has not already been done, trees should be set out this spring on both sides of the road from the end of the Mill Dam to the line of the town of Brighton, as they serve both as a grateful shade to man and beast who have occasion to travel the road during the heat of summer, and objects of ornament to the way and beauty to the taste at all seasons of the year. And though all who may [act] on this recommendation of the committee, and place ornamental and shade trees by the wayside, may not themselves live to enjoy a walk or drive along this broad avenue when the trees which they have planted shall have spread their leafy branches o'er the traveler's head, yet they may take to themselves the happy reflection that a grateful posterity will owe to them also a part of the grateful honour, thanks and blessings with which this committee and the friends of the road have been so liberally and even profusely overwhelmed by our intelligent publick-spirited and appreciative community.

This report, incidentally, indicates what sort of citizens, in Mr. Griggs' opinion, had been in sympathy with the project. It is not hard to discern what, by implication, he thought of the others.

Several years later there was trouble when tidewaters overflowed the road, and steps were taken to provide culverts and flood-gates by way of protection. With the elimination of this difficulty, the new road began to demonstrate that substantial value to the community which has grown, even to the present time.

As has been indicated, this development of improved means of contact with more distant places was accompanied by an extensive program of street betterment within the town. It

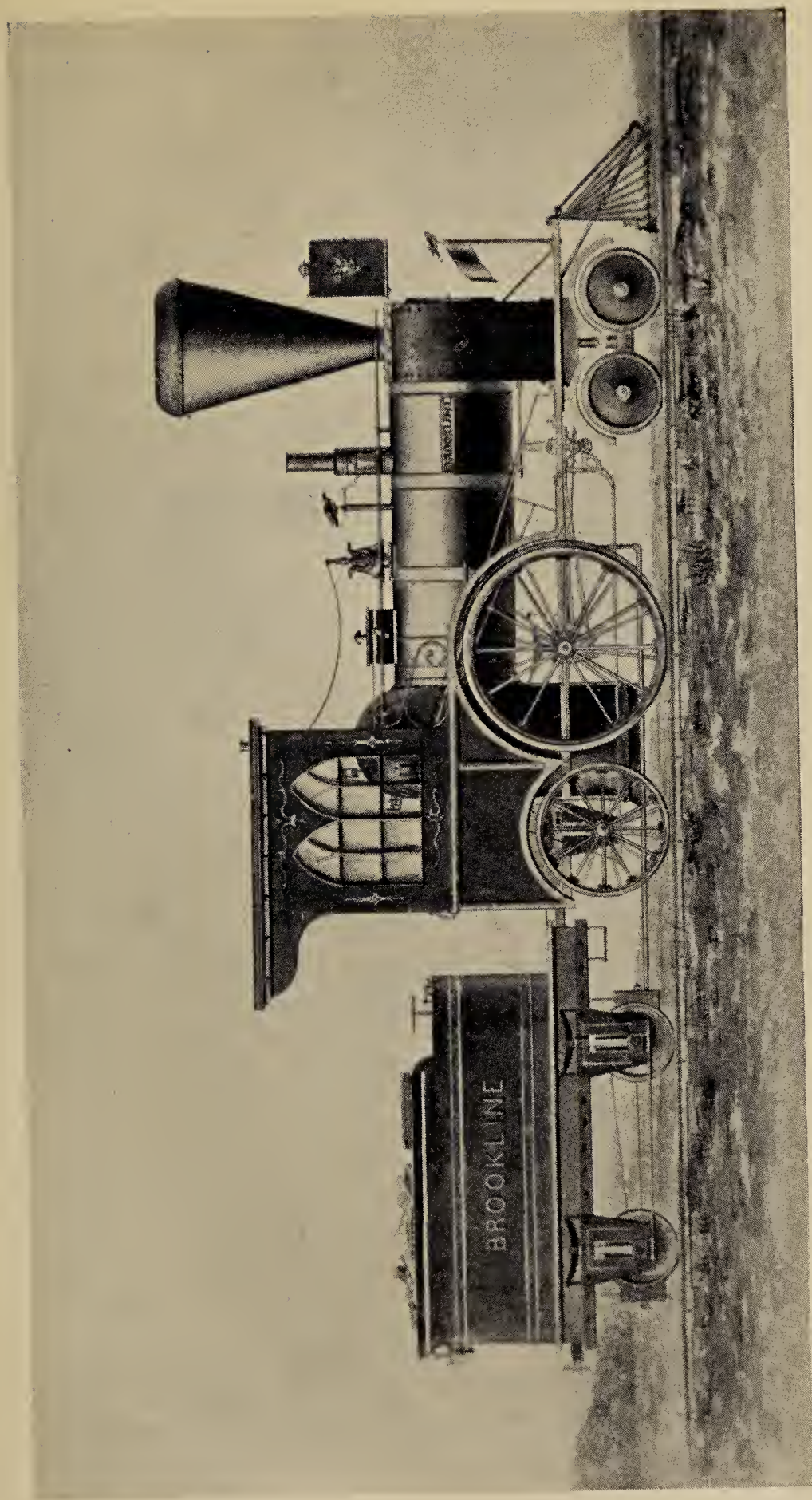
would serve no purpose to elaborate upon the widening, straightening, and relocating of various streets, the lowering of grades, construction of retaining walls, and other changes which made travel within the town limits at once easier and safer. But that all these things were done reflected the growing intercourse within as well as without the village limits, and the importance of facilities for getting about.¹

THE UNWELCOME RAILROADS

However, from the beginning, Brookline's official attitude toward that dirty, noisy innovation, the railroad, was characterized by a marked lack of hospitality. In 1846, when Ebenezer D. Ammidown and others were seeking a charter for a corporation to operate a railroad from Boston through Brookline to Southbridge or Sturbridge, the town voted to refer the petition 'to the Committee having in charge the petition of George R. Russell and others; and that said Committee is hereby directed to resist in behalf of the Town the passage of this or any other Rail Road through the Town, which now is, or may hereafter be petitioned for during the present session of the Legislature.' Russell a fortnight earlier, had sought the approval of the town for a line to pass through its limits from Boston to Woonsocket Falls, Rhode Island.

In a community such as Brookline, and at a time when solid citizens seriously debated the relative merits of horse-drawn and steam-propelled transportation, the underlying causes of this opposition are not far to seek. The town government was dominated by men of comfortable personal fortune, who for the most part had their own carriages and were quite independent of anything so vulgar as a common carrier. Spared the pressure of inconvenience in this respect, they were not disposed to impair the charm of their village residence by

¹ Even as late as 1862, Brookline was apparently regarded as by no means particularly accessible to Boston. In that year Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, bringing home his son, wounded in a Civil War engagement, stopped in New York and went to see Central Park for the first time. He described it as 'an expanse of wild country well crumpled so as to form ridges which will give views and hollows that will hold water... but it cost me four dollars to get there, so far was it beyond the Pillars of Hercules of the fashionable quarter. What it will be by and by depends on circumstances; but at present it is as much central to New York as Brookline is to Boston.'



FIRST LOCOMOTIVE TO RUN ON THE BROOKLINE BRANCH RAILROAD
Built in Liverpool in 1835

acknowledging dependence on an unpleasant mechanism of unproved worth.

The attitude of such citizens is perhaps adequately characterized by an anonymous diarist of the time, who has described his reactions to a trip by rail from Boston to New York:

July 22, 1835. — This morning at nine o'clock I took passage in a railroad car for Providence. Five or six other cars were attached to the locomotive, and uglier boxes I do not wish to travel in. They were made to stow away some thirty human beings, who sit cheek by jowl as best they can. Two poor fellows, who were not much in the habit of making their toilet, squeezed me into a corner, while the hot sun drew from their garments a villainous compound of smells made up of salt fish, tar and molasses. By and by, just twelve, — only twelve, — bouncing factory girls were introduced, who were going on a party of pleasure to Newport. 'Make room for the ladies!' bawled out the superintendent. 'Come, gentlemen, jump up on the top; plenty of room there.' 'I'm afraid of the bridge knocking my brains out,' said a passenger. Some made one excuse and some another. For my part, I flatly told him that since I had belonged to the corps of Silver Grays I had lost my gallantry, and did not intend to move. The whole twelve were, however, introduced, and soon made themselves at home, sucking lemons and eating green apples.... The rich and poor, the educated and the ignorant, the polite and the vulgar, all herd together in this modern improvement in travelling. The consequence is a complete amalgamation. Master and servant sleep heads and points on the cabin floor of the steamer, feed at the same table, sit in each other's laps, as it were, in the cars; and all this for the sake of doing very uncomfortably in two days what would be done delightfully in eight or ten. Shall we be much longer kept by this toilsome fashion of hurrying, hurrying, from starting (those who can afford it) on a journey with our own horses, and moving slowly, surely and profitably through the country, with the power of enjoying its beauty and be the means of creating good inns? Undoubtedly, a line of post-horses and post-chaises would long ago have been established along our great roads had not steam monopolized everything.

There were plenty, however, who could not afford travel

with their own horses, and who nevertheless found it necessary to get about. Some concession to their convenience was inevitable.

The entering wedge came when the Boston and Worcester line asked permission to fix a gate across the Mill Dam Road at the railroad crossing. Brookline selectmen discussed this with the county commissioners, and the company was finally allowed to station a man at the crossing, 'whose duty it is to step out & wave his flag whenever an Engine passes over the road.'

On April 24, 1847, the Boston and Worcester Railroad was opened between Boston and Brookline, and over two thousand people were treated to free rides on fourteen trains. The affair seems to have gone off with considerable *éclat*, unlike similar demonstrations of a few years previous, on one of which a party returning from Westboro was delayed by head winds, and on another of which failure of the locomotive resulted in an altogether satisfactory substitution of horse power. It is not so hard, after all, to see why enthusiasm for the railroad could be considerably discounted, though it was doubtless a very remarkable thing when it worked.

The next year George Russell wanted to build a line from West Roxbury to Brookline as a means of communication with Boston, but the town meeting opposed the move, suggesting that passengers from West Roxbury would naturally travel by the Providence line rather than the Boston and Worcester. Furthermore, they said, 'if for no other reason, we are earnestly opposed to any road which, like this, thus unnecessarily must make a bad crossing over the principal street in the Town.'

In February, 1849, the question of the Woonsocket line was brought up again, debated in town meeting, 'and finally disposed of by laying the whole subject on the table, by a very large majority.' The following year, George B. Blake, William I. Bowditch, and John Dane were named a committee to oppose the petition of the Charles River Railroad to the county commissioners for permission to cross Washington Street at grade, and insist that the company be obliged to build a bridge over their road. The same committee was directed to oppose the railroad's crossing Cypress Street or any other public high-

way in the town at grade. Thus the town of Brookline undertook to prevent at the outset an evil which the state as a whole did not seek to remedy until 1889, when the first general agitation for the elimination of grade crossings was felt.

But there was a change of heart by June 16, 1851, on the part of a large section of the community, and in a spirited meeting, in which the names of the legal voters were individually called, a proposal to permit substitution of gates and a flagman for bridges at the proposed Washington Street and Cypress Street crossings, was lost by the narrow margin of 67 to 76. The remonstrance was sustained, and a committee report to the town meeting of March 8, 1852, indicates that the railroad company had been ordered to construct a bridge over Washington Street.

The general feeling seems to have been that one, or at most, two railroads would be wholly adequate to the needs of the community, and the town was not to be cluttered up with superfluous traffic or a lot of dangerous crossings. It is an attitude the more extraordinary in a period when most towns were in favor of all the railroads they could get, and the spirit of untrammelled expansion was strong in the land. But for the exceptional make-up of Brookline's population, such restraint would scarcely have been demonstrated.

Reluctance to make the most of the new means of transportation does not seem to have lingered long, for the town repeatedly moved to make the Boston and Worcester station as easy of access as possible, and to improve the drainage in its vicinity. The available facilities were to be used to the best advantage.

It may have been sympathy with local enterprise that impelled the town, at its meeting of March 22, 1858, to approve the Legislature's incorporation of the Brookline Railroad Company which, however, is not thereafter mentioned in the town records.

POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPH

The exigencies of business had given rise to a postal service when the mail was still carried by mounted messenger or in stage-coaches. In the latter part of the third decade of the

nineteenth century, a post office was established for Brookline, in the tailor shop of a Mr. Phippen in Roxbury. A few years later Oliver Whyte, a native of Brookline who had returned home after a successful business career in the south, was named postmaster, and the office was transferred to the store of Whyte and Sumner, March 3, 1829. Mr. Whyte served in this office until his resignation in 1842, the year which also terminated his town clerkship of nearly three decades.

A meticulous man, he kept the most precise accounts, which show receipts of \$69.09 $\frac{1}{4}$ for the Brookline office between July 1 and October 1, 1829, of which the postmaster's share, figured at thirty per cent of letter postage and half of the newspaper rates, amounted to \$24.04 $\frac{1}{2}$. At the time of his resignation, the receipts had nearly doubled.

Something of the formalities of the postal service of those days may be gathered from one of Mr. Whyte's last letters to the Postmaster General:

Brookline, Dec. — 1841

Sir. .

Your circular requiring names and certificates of sufficiency of sureties was duly received. But, as I am about to resign my office, as soon after the conclusion of the present quarter as I can have a suitable successor recommended by those most interested in the good management of the office, and feeling myself equal to the responsibility for the present quarter, I have not been so prompt in my reply as I otherwise should have been. The sureties which I gave on entering the duties of the office have, I believe, both deceased some years since. But as I have held the office so long (perhaps there is no person in the United States now living who received a commission as post-master so early and continued it so many years and made more prompt quarterly returns and payments), I hope you will excuse my omission to return sureties for the present quarter. I shall feel sufficiently interested to see that the person recommended as my successor is equal to the responsibilities and duties of the office.

My first appointment as post-master was at Petersburg, Georgia, soon after the establishment of a post-office there in 1793 or 94, from Timothy Pickering (when the list of post-offices in the United States was contained on one side of a



HOUSE OF OLIVER WHYTE, HIGH AND WALNUT STREETS
The site of the Union Building

small sheet of paper), and renewed by Joseph Habersham and continued by Gideon Granger. While holding this commission I removed from Georgia to this place, and when a post-office was established here I took the appointment which I have held from that time, and my quarterly account has been made out and the balance deposited or payment made agreeable to orders from the department by my own hands. The balance of the present quarter I shall pay over to Mr. McIntosh, the mail contractor, without further orders from the department.

S. S. C. Jones was Mr. Whyte's successor. A few years later the mails were being largely expedited by railroad; an old means of communication was swept forward by the newest means of transportation, and becoming prosperity flourished along the ways of trade.

In 1849 the selectmen issued specifications for the erection of the posts and wires of the Boston & Vermont Telegraph Company, which had been prompt to turn to account the new invention of Samuel F. B. Morse. Thus at last every modern facility of commerce obtained a foothold in Brookline.

COMMERCIAL ASPECTS OF THE TOWN

But Brookline, as has been emphasized, was never itself to become an industrial or commercial center, for all the fact that its prosperity in the main depended on industry and trade. Some slight measure of that dependence may be gleaned from the militia list of 1865, which records the occupations of many of the citizens eligible for military service. There are listed 22 traders, 22 clerks, 19 farmers, 19 merchants, 2 shoemakers, 3 jewelers, 2 druggists, and a manufacturer. Of course traders, merchants, and clerks are not precise terms, though they indicate unmistakably an interest in trade; and the Brookline farmers of this period were largely active in raising produce for market. Lawyers and bankers, furthermore, must be regarded at least as on the fringe of commerce, and there must surely have been some of these, even if they were not on the military list. So the Brookline stake in this field, however indirect, was of the first importance.

At times there have been more direct incursions. When

Miss Woods wrote, in the eighteen-seventies, E. M. Abbott maintained a lumber wharf on the river front, which was also used as a coal and wood yard. During most of the period between 1850 and 1870 Joseph Turner & Sons manufactured woolen knit goods in the town, and in 1868, E. S. Ritchie & Sons moved their scientific instrument factory out from Boston.

That same year Charles William Holtzer, twenty-year-old native of Germany, came to Brookline, and in 1875 he commenced the manufacture of electrical apparatus. In 1880 he started the telephone exchange in the town, and still later became president of the Holtzer-Cabot Electric Company, one of Brookline's very few industries.

There were doubtless minor enterprises which have escaped any mention at all. Probably it is just as well, for Brookline's pride was never in these things. A community of homes it was from the beginning, and a community of homes it determined to remain, clinging to that profession while mansions have given way to apartment houses, and holes in modern cliff dwellings masquerade as homes.

At bottom dependent upon industry and commerce for its perfection of charm, it has like a haughty child held aloof from the parents accountable for its very life's blood. So true is this that there recurs the impulse to pervert a little the sense of some verses by Arthur Symons in his *London Nights*, which conclude with the admonition:

‘So only that the obvious be
Too obvious for you and me,
And the one vulgar, final act
Remain an unadmitted fact.’

CHAPTER IX

PEACE AND PROSPERITY

BUSY DECADES

THE years after the final struggle with England, down to the Civil War, were a time of flourishing. As the preceding chapter has shown, agriculture became very profitable, manufacturing sprang up, and commerce boomed both at home and abroad. Brookline men had their hands in all these things, and as they prospered, so did the town. Citizens of growing wealth elaborated their own properties, and gave expression to the ideal that all public services should be held to the highest standards. They were not content with Brookline's distinction as the wealthiest town in the United States; it must also be the best governed.

To that end the town meeting applied itself to the study of new educational methods, the investigation of improved fire-fighting apparatus, the advantages of street lights — in a word, to all innovations in the complex business of municipal administration which held out the promise of progress toward a higher standard. Did a new type of paving material possess superior advantages? A committee would visit towns where it has been used, question authorities, and examine the pavement for themselves. Was the teaching of calisthenics appropriate in the public schools? It might be tried out for a few months, by way of experiment.

So much, of course, could not be gone into by the town as a whole, and there is perceptible a very marked tendency to entrust all matters of importance to committees, directed to investigate, and make their report and recommendations to the town meeting for the guidance of voters. But this committee system did not degenerate into a delegation of authority subject only to rubber-stamped approval, to which the impulse to shift responsibility can so easily lead. More than a few times the town declined to accept a committee report, or voted con-

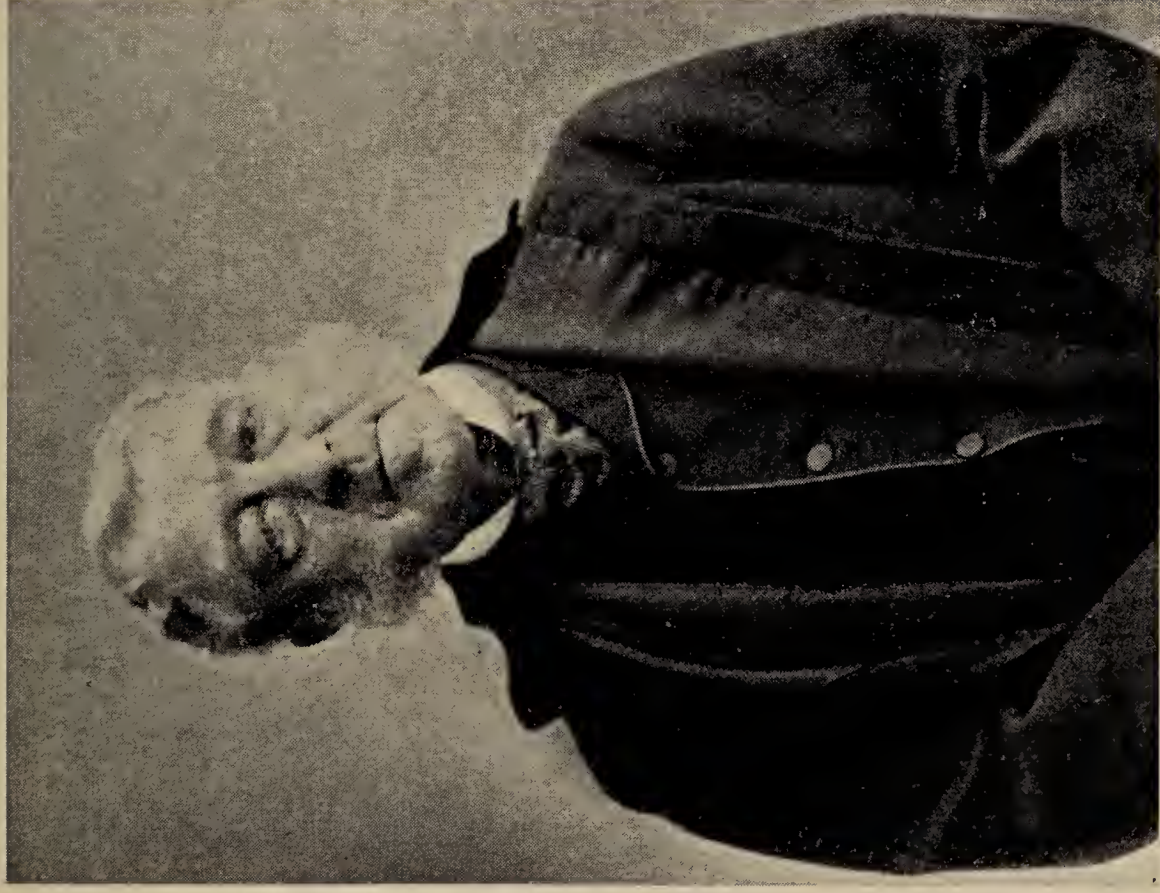
trary to its recommendations. The men who attended town meetings retained a keen sense of personal interest in public affairs, and the determination to give expression to their own best judgment on behalf of the town. It was a spirit which extended to almost every field of community interest, and to which must be attributed the progressive leadership so characteristic of Brookline during those busy years.

THE NEWER INHABITANTS

Perhaps no factor was as important in shaping the character of the growing town, as the kind of men who made up its changing population. At first composed of farms, Brookline became after the Revolution a community of country estates. It has remained for the twentieth century to see the subdivision of the larger of these estates, and the growth of the town as a whole into a community of comfortable suburban homes, while in certain newer parts, apartment houses have multiplied rapidly.

It was about 1800 that the merchants of Boston began to lead a movement of wealthy citizens to the rural suburb. Among the first were Stephen Higginson, George Cabot, and Thomas Lee. Mr. Cabot had been Washington's Secretary of the Navy, a post of no little distinction. And to Mr. Lee belonged the credit of undertaking perhaps the first serious landscaping in Brookline; he is said to have made the first English lawn in the town, and his gardens and greenhouses were hospitably open to passers-by who found them attractive.

Henry Lee, a descendant of John Leigh who had come to Ipswich about 1634, started his business career as junior partner in the firm of Bullard & Lee, East India merchants, who maintained houses in Boston and Calcutta. When that partnership was dissolved in 1853, he joined George Higginson and John Clarke Lee in founding Lee, Higginson & Co., which survived as a famous banking house until 1932. Henry Lee had married Elizabeth Cabot in 1845, and made his home in Brookline, next to the famous Boylston-Hyslop house opposite the old Brookline reservoir. He was active as a banker until after his eightieth birthday, in 1897, but found time also for public service, on Governor Andrew's staff during the Civil War, and later as a



COLONEL HENRY LEE
1817-1898



THEODORE LYMAN
1833-1897

representative to the General Court, and an overseer of Harvard College.

Edward Philbrick, son of Brookline's leading abolitionist, came as an infant to Brookline. Like his father, he was public-spirited, and most independent in thought. He was educated as an engineer, and found his opportunity in the expanding network of railroads, supervising location and construction for the Rutland & Burlington line, a part of the Erie, and the Boston & Worcester. After the Civil War he was appointed by the Governor as inspecting engineer of the Boston, Hartford & Erie Railroad, to see that the State's loan of \$3,000,000 was not misapplied. Later he supervised the rebuilding of bridges for the Boston & Albany, and was made consulting engineer on the Hoosac tunnel construction. That tunnel, interestingly enough, had been first proposed by Colonel Loammi Baldwin, engineer of the Mill Dam, who thought a canal might be put through to western Massachusetts by this means; but had it been undertaken by the means then available, its construction must have taken not less than fifty years. Mr. Philbrick was first called in in 1870, after the work had been under way for twenty years, with little progress. Subsequently he supervised the construction of the Brookline water-works, and other projects about Boston. With all this, Edward Philbrick found time to serve six terms as selectman, and to perform public duties on various committees.

William Aspinwall was born a Londoner, son of the United States consul there, whose valor in the War of 1812 had cost him an arm. He attended Harvard, studied law, and in 1847 became a resident of Brookline, where his public services to the town in many offices, as well as his activity in state and national politics, attested the new eminence of a name long honored in the community.

Amos Lawrence graduated from Harvard in 1835, at the age of twenty-one, and promptly embarked on his mercantile career. This was interrupted by a few years in Europe, but resumed in 1843, and enlarged in 1846 with the formation of the firm of A. & A. Lawrence & Co. Mr. Lawrence was a moving spirit in a wide variety of industrial projects, and engaged also in numerous philanthropies. Officer of half a

dozen important manufacturing companies, founder of the town of Appleton and of Lawrence University in Wisconsin, treasurer and overseer of Harvard, promoter of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and once a candidate for the governorship, Amos Lawrence belonged in the first rank of nineteenth-century men of affairs. He became a resident of Brookline in 1851, and though he did not participate actively in local politics, he found time to lend his advice to numerous committees, so that his wise counsel was definitely felt in the business of the town.

John L. Gardner was a commercial and financial leader, remembered for his public benefactions. The name was also distinguished by the contributions of his son, John L. Gardner, and his daughter-in-law, Isabella Stewart Gardner, many years later to the art treasures of Boston.

Frederick Law Olmsted, called the founder of landscape architecture, had gone far in his professional career before he became a resident of Brookline. He followed an experience of five years at sea with the study of agricultural science and engineering at Yale, practical experience of farming, and wide travel. With his associate, Calvert Vaux, he competed successfully for the appointment to lay out Central Park in New York, and this was followed by a numerous succession of similar commissions, one of which brought him to Boston, and resulted in his making a home in Brookline. His opinion was more than once consulted on matters of importance to the town, particularly the planning of the metropolitan park system.

Robert C. Winthrop was a lawyer trained in the office of Daniel Webster whom, twenty years later, he succeeded in the United States Senate, under appointment by Governor Briggs. Whether his brilliant political career is to be attributed to the masterful oratory for which he was renowned, or whether the oratory reflected his association with Webster, are questions scarcely to be solved at this distance. But he possessed a keenly analytical mind and a fine capacity for stating political thought in popular terms — qualities which furthered his career while they made him a really valuable public man. He was a resident of Boston until late in life, though at the close of his career

he was regarded as a Brookline man, and contributed to the town some carefully thought-out plans for overcoming the difficulties which resulted from an over-large town meeting.

It would be misleading to intimate that these men represented a fair cross-section of the population of the town in their time. There were 605 inhabitants in 1800, 900 in 1820, 1043 in 1830, 1365 in 1840, 2516 in 1850, 5164 in 1860, 6650 in 1870, 8057 in 1880, 12,103 in 1890, and 19,935 in 1900, representing an increase of thirty-fold during the century. Substantial citizens doubtless insisted, even during the first fifty years, that the character of the town was being ruined by the cutting-up of old properties and the eager influx of outsiders. In the decades that followed, of course, the situation was aggravated. It would be impossible that such growth should be exclusively of citizens of the first rank, or even that all of them should be desirable. But Brookline won more than its share of those from the higher cultural and economic brackets, and a very minimum of the disorderly, as is attested by the fact that not until 1847 was there even a village lockup.

AN ECCENTRIC CITIZEN

To offset the sober propriety of some of those named above, there was the low comedy relief of Captain Benjamin Bradley, who cannot have been wholly irresponsible or he would never have been elected constable. It is related that Benjamin Goddard opposed the captain when he ran for the office, and the latter was moved to seek revenge. On Bradley's Hill, sometimes called Vengeance Hill (on the north side of Boylston Street, west of Cypress), where he lived, he constructed a 'property' church out of an old barn with an added tower and belfry, which obstructed Mr. Goddard's view of Boston. Surrounding it stood a community of cheap houses which were let, Dr. Carleton S. Francis has said,

to poor but not always respectable families.

On Sundays he held services in his church and anyone who could drink a glass of whiskey straight, could become a member of his parish. The services and sermons were often facetious and profane. He had a coffin made for himself and placed it in front of the pulpit; every few weeks he would

lie down in this and see if it fitted. He finally outgrew the original one and had another made and used the first one as a wine closet.

Captain Bradley would vary the monotony of his life by every now and then going off on a trip with a certain convivial friend. They would start off in an old one-horse chaise on pleasure bent. In a day or two the old horse and chaise would come wandering home, much the worse for wear, then in due time Mr. Bradley's companion, and in a day or two after the captain himself would turn up. He would then stay at home for a longer or shorter time, holding services in his church until his pocket book became replenished. He would then once more start out to see the world.

How the captain profited by his church services does not appear, though from the basis of communion one might suspect that the pulpit was converted into a bar. He doubtless derived an income from rented properties, which seem to have constituted the only slums of Brookline in his day, for his cluster of buildings on the hill are referred to as an eyesore, and fifteen years after his death in 1856, they were removed to a locality on Hart Street which came to be referred to as Whiskey Point.

But the natural beauty of the town, with the pride, good taste, and affluence of substantial citizens, accounted for its acceptance as one of the loveliest possible places of residence. Brookline of the early nineteenth century was such a place as inspired a visiting minister to say that its inhabitants must be little concerned with the attainment of heaven, for they already possessed it.

SEPARATION OF PARISH AND TOWN

It was, of course, a time when religious formalities flourished, along with secular enterprises, despite the separation of Church and State in 1833. After the distribution of property in 1834, church affairs vanish from the town meeting records, and public worship is supported, not by general taxation, but by private contribution. Surrender by the town of land and buildings which it had held for the use of the parish was complicated by the fact that a Baptist church had been established

in 1828, and was regarded as entitled to a part of what the town, as such, was about to give up.

To insure fairness, a committee was appointed which included Richard Sullivan and Benjamin Goddard, members of the Congregational Society, and Elijah Corey and Thomas Griggs, both deacons in the First Baptist Church. Their report defines the church situation so well that it may be quoted at length:

... That until the organization of the second religious society the first Parish under the existing laws was deemed to be a territorial Parish and as such its limits were identicle with those of the Town and each and every Inhabitant was liable to taxation on his poll and property real and personal for the support of Public worship — But any Inhabitant being a member of any other religious society in another Town was entitled under a Law of 1811 to require that any such tax assessed should be paid over to his own Minister — The Assessors of the Town were the Parish Assessors the Town Clerk was also the Parish Clerk, and the Town Treasurer the Parish Treasurer. The Parochial expenses were not paid from any fund kept apart from the funds of the Town, but in the estimates of the year Ministers Salary and other Parish Charges were classed as Items of a general estimate of monies required for the disbursements of the Town. On the 5th September 1804 the Town purchased of William Aspinwall and Stephen Sharp the piece of land [where the present meeting house and horse sheds were built]...

The Supreme Court have decided that whenever any Number of individuals being inhabitants of any town and belonging to the territorial Parish therein secede from said Parish, and form another religious Society within the limits of the same town, the property before appointed by the town to the use of the first Parish shall be considered thereafter as the property of said parish and not of the Town.

The committee according to the Principle of the above decision have now to point out what property of the town appears to have been appropriated or may be thought now equitably assignable to the said first Parish.

The essence of the committee's analysis was that the First Parish properly owned the meeting-house and sheds and the land where they stood, that the town house clearly belonged

to the town, and that the land around the meeting-house and the lot south of it should remain as open commons. The parsonage had been given in carefully restricted terms for the use of the minister of the First Parish, and in 1806 the town had voted to add the old meeting-house lot to the parsonage, so there was little room for question on that score. Finally, Samuel White in 1759 had deeded to the selectmen as trustees a wood lot 'to supply the Minister or Minister's that may be settled in said town from time to time,' and it was thought the Baptists had some claim to this. The income from the wood lot was accordingly divided equally between the two churches.

From this time, church history in Brookline is church history rather than town history. Other religious bodies found adherents, with a growing population, and established churches; the Congregationalists in 1844, Episcopalians in 1849, Roman Catholics in 1852, the Church of the New Jerusalem in 1857, the Methodist Episcopal in 1863, the Universalists in 1892, the Presbyterians in 1894.¹

A REVERED MINISTER

Of all the religious leaders whom Brookline has ever had none served so long or was more loved than the Reverend John Pierce. Another minister once said of him, 'As I understand it, Dr. Pierce is Brookline, and Brookline is Dr. Pierce.'

A native of Dorchester, he graduated from Harvard in 1793 at the age of twenty. Two years later he commenced the study of theology and in 1797, while a tutor at Harvard, he was called to succeed the Reverend Mr. Jackson in the First Church in Brookline. In that post he served for more than half a century until his death in 1849.

Dr. Pierce appears to have been a man of remarkable personal charm as well as a person with a capacity for systematic arrangement, and close attention to details. The affection in which the community held him is evidence of the first and testimony to his powers of observation and analysis is found in the public addresses which he made on several occasions. He was

¹ A comprehensive summary may be found in the chapter entitled 'Outlines of Church History' in Charles Knowles Bolton's *Brookline: The History of a Favored Town*, pp. 130-56.

intensely interested in the progress of the community with which he was so long identified and he took delight in describing the substantial changes that had come to pass within his memory. These accounts of his are not very entertaining to read but they are immensely helpful in understanding the character of Brookline a century ago.

Ordinarily the sort of man who is noted for his precise memory of all details, whether of village events or neighborhood genealogy, is likely to be a dull companion. But, although it was said of Dr. Pierce that on reaching the Pearly Gates he might be expected to pull out his watch and tell Saint Peter precisely how many steps there were in the golden stairs and how many minutes it had taken him to come from Brookline, he seems not to have been an unsociably mathematical man, but a person of great vigor, large, fine-looking, and beaming with cheerfulness and benignity. He was long active on the school committee and took particular interest in visiting the schools and examining pupils. He was very fond of fine, resounding hymns in church. A little knowledge of the things that Dr. Pierce liked is enough to make it plain that he was a man of magnetic vitality, great powers of spiritual leadership, and an effective cultural influence in the community.

THE CHURCH AS IT WAS

The atmosphere of the old First Church in the eighteenth century is preserved in the recollections of Mary W. Poor, youngest daughter of Dr. John Pierce, which she related to the Brookline Historical Society in 1903. The meeting-house itself was simple, though the social distinctions within were marked. To the child mind

the Hyslop pew with elegant upholstery and its hymn books bound in scarlet morocco, having book plates bearing the family coat of arms, and the legend, '*By the name of Hyslop*,' ... left a strong impression of earthly grandeur ...

In front of the meeting-house was a graveled terrace surrounded by granite posts with two rows of iron chains hanging in loops between them. It had three front doors, the central one opened into a large porch which led to the broad or central aisle and was so high that it presented quite a grand

appearance to a child. The other doors opened into smaller and lower porches and thence into the side aisles. In these porches were flights of stairs going up into the galleries, in which were three long rows of seats for the singers, and many pews. The house was warmed by two stoves which stood between the broad and the two side aisles. Iron pipes ran from the whole length of the building to the windows in the back of the church. . . .

A small flight of stairs from the northeastern side porch led to the third story of the meeting house, where was a long pew for colored people, raised as far above the singers' gallery as that was above the auditorium. When a little child, I used to amuse myself by looking at 'Black Susie,' who was stout and had such a round face that I fancied she resembled a full moon! She was for a long time the only specimen of the colored race in the town.

Above the stairs to the Negro seats were rough steps leading to the belfry and thence to a charming room with windows on eight sides, whence were splendid views of Brookline, Boston, surrounding towns, and the Harbor. Comfortable seats under these windows provided a rest for feet weary with climbing so long a flight of stairs, and also standing places for children too little to see the prospect from the floor. They were forbidden to ascend to these heights without the escort of some older person, as the stairs had no side rails and were unsafe for careless climbers. . . .

It was the custom when there was a funeral in town to send a boy to the highest open space in the steeple to watch for the funeral procession leaving the house of mourning. When it began to move the bell ringer would toll the bell till it reached the church. . . .

Everybody went to meeting in those days, both to morning and afternoon services. As I look back so many years I recall nothing whatever of the sermons, but every face in the audience is in my memory still, particularly that of the dear old lady who invariably repeated as she passed the Parsonage pew going out, no matter who preached, 'Truly a most excellent discourse.' Among the leading figures was Deacon Goddard, then a tall, handsome young man, in the singing seats; the Miss Gardners, who dressed in brighter colors than any other worshippers; in General Dearborn's pew, his daughter, Miss Julia, who seemed to me a perfect beauty; Mr. and Mrs. Caleb Clark, with their pew full of pretty



WALNUT STREET WITH THE OLD TOWN HALL (LEFT) AND THE THIRD BUILDING OF
THE FIRST PARISH CHURCH

children; old Captain Goddard, sometimes standing up to keep himself awake; and my uncle Charles Tappan, shaking his head at me when I was restless; the kind old ladies who had footstoves, which were filled with hot coals, of walnut wood, I suppose, which they passed over the tops of their pews to neighbors, after they had sufficiently warmed their own feet. It was a relief from the tedium of a long sermon to watch them.

Tedium it must have been if there is truth in the aphorism that few souls are saved after the first twenty minutes. But in those days Sunday was still set aside for worship rather than for diversion, and citizens who were forbidden to drive out on Sunday except upon 'business of charity or necessity' seem to have preferred the tedium of two long church services to that of sitting idly at home.

ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING

However, people are disposed to be more conservative about their religion than about anything else, and if the attitude toward worship underwent little substantial change, the spirit of change and progress was by no means restrained in other directions. The concern for the education of children which had marked the earliest days of Muddy River, found expression in an unsurpassed school system, and a vigorous interest in plans for the education of adults.

Disposed to show the same consideration for others that they had once sought for themselves, the town voted, April 5, 1824, 'That the Inhabitants on the Mill Dam have their proportion of Tax allowed them for the support of a school there,' and 'they were allowed \$46.91 cents.' Then, a little more than a month afterward, a subject that had been under consideration for a long time came to a head. Something had to be done about the old brick school house, and on May 10, 1824, the committee appointed to look into the matter made their report.

The records of that meeting are devoid of dramatic details, but there seems to have been a pretty spirited discussion, particularly as to the type of new building which ought to be erected. A school and a town house were needed, and it was decided to make one structure serve both purposes. Joseph

Sewall and John and Lewis Tappan had recently built stone houses, and there was a faction in the town who thought stone was none too good for a public building. But there was also a faction of conservative die-hards, who were against abandonment of the old brick school from the beginning, and at length grudgingly agreed to the passage of a vote for erection of a two-story wooden building, forty-eight by twenty-eight feet.

Having carried this much, the progressives renewed the fight, had the vote reconsidered, and won for the committee power to build the basement of stone if they thought it desirable. Still further reconsideration resulted in additional generosity, and on January 1, 1825, 'the New Town Hall was Dedicated by Prayer and Sacred musick.' The room in the second story was used for town meetings, and the ground floor provided accommodations for the school. This was the structure eventually purchased by the Unitarian Church, and now known as Pierce Hall.

The meeting of April 1, 1833, appropriated \$800 for a new school house 'in the North District near the situation of the present building, to be not less than twenty five by thirty feet, and two stories in height...' And this was merely the beginning of the program of expansion.¹

A summary of the situation is given in the report of the school committee on their examination of the schools in March of 1834:

The School in the South district under the care of Mr Converse has 13 scholars, present 17 on the list. School in the middle district under care of Moses Burbank 35 were present, 50 on the list. First North District under the care of Leonard Spaulding 41 were present 63 on the list. also one school under the care of Hannah Perry & Lucy Davis 49 were present 53 on the list, whole number 183. — Your committee recommend to the Town to dispense with a Male and employ a Female Teacher in the south district — Forty eight weeks at \$2.50 — 120 dollars and they further recom-

¹ The earliest district schools in the town were located as follows:

Middle District, in Sherburne Road, now Walnut Street, on the triangle near the present church.

North District, in the New Lane, now School Street.

South District, in Warren Street between Heath and Clyde Streets (later moved to Heath Street).

Southwest or Putterham District, in Newton Street near Grove Street.

mend the Town to Support two schools in the first North district throughout the year. one female teacher 48 weeks @ 2.50 pr week 120. also one other female teacher 32 Weeks @ 2.50 pr week 80\$. the school to commence the first of april keep to the first of December. grant to the Second North District 100 dollars a year during the Towns pleasure. that the Forty six dollars saved to the Town by the alteration in the South District should go to pay a female teacher in the first North district the ensuing winter.

In 1839 enlargement of the Putterham School was found desirable, at an estimated cost of \$125 and an actual expenditure of \$243.72. That same year a committee was appointed 'with authority to repair the Middle district school house where it now stands, or to remove the same or build a new one at their discretion on such a lot as Thomas H. Perkins and others will provide to the satisfaction of the committee in exchange for the old lot, provided said Perkins and others will pay the Town Six hundred dollars for exchanging lots...' There seemed to be no purchaser for the old building, so the committee repaired it at a cost of \$859.07, pointing out that although this was perhaps as much as a new school house would have cost, the old frame was better than any new one that could be bought, and should last indefinitely. Scarcely more than a dozen years later, the building was described as 'quite unworthy of the Town, dingy, dirty, ill-placed, ill-constructed, and ill-kept, not a fit place for the training of youthful minds in sound learning, good morals, and good manners.'

NEW THEORIES OF EDUCATION

At about this stage, the Brookline school committee exhibits unmistakable signs of the influence of Horace Mann, who has sometimes been described as the father of public education in the United States. He had settled in Dedham in 1826, at the age of thirty, and was promptly recognized as a man of brilliant talent. Trained as a lawyer, he was an able speaker, and embarked at once upon a highly successful political career, in the course of which he used all his influence to effect improvements in the public schools. In 1837 he was appointed a member of the first Massachusetts State Board of Education, and

became its secretary. For a decade the most popular public speaker in the State, he was deeply chagrined to find that people who would come miles to hear him discuss politics seemed wholly indifferent to his appeals for better school houses, better books and teaching equipment, abler and more adequately trained teachers. His was a long and vigorous and, at length, triumphant fight; but from the beginning there had been some who were ready to listen to him, and it is apparent that among these were the forward-looking citizens of Brookline who were actively interested in its schools. Hence, in that town were to be felt some of the first results of Horace Mann's pioneering.

How else can one account for the program laid down by the school committee in 1842? Parts of it recited:

In consequence of the advancement made by some of the scholars it has been found necessary to extend the course of study in one or two instances, and to meet the exigencies which have thus arisen, the com. have recommended some branches which have never before been pursued in our common schools. Whether this method can be pursued still farther without doing material injury to the smaller scholars, or whether our schools must be rendered useless to many under the age of sixteen who wish to prosecute their studies farther than those who have preceded them and add to the knowledge which they have already attained, is a question which your com. are not fully able to decide. It is evident, however, that the wants of this class should in some way be met, and that the Town should make provision for the thorough instruction of all between the ages of four and sixteen. The fact that such demands are made of the Com. is proof that the cause of education is advancing, and that our common schools are accomplishing more than they have hitherto done. There seems to be an increased interest among us in relation to the cause of education, parents are some of them beginning to give their attention more fully to this subject and to inquire what can be done and what ought to be done in order to give their children such mental training as will fit them for respectability and usefulness in future life. They perceive that in respect to knowledge demands are made in every department of business of those who are now coming upon the stage of active life, which



THE PUTTERHAM SCHOOL ON NEWTON STREET
Built in 1768. Almshouse in the background

were not made in former times, and, without a thorough education, the rising generation will not be able to meet these demands.... Now it is the opinion of your committee that none of us put too high an estimate upon a good education, or feel too much the importance of having our children furnished with such means for intellectual culture as the exigencies of the age demand. The public schools of this town ought not to be inferior to those of any other town in the Commonwealth, and we ought not to be satisfied without the evidence that we are every year elevating their character and improving their condition.

The report goes on to state that the principal handicaps upon schooling are the irregularity of attendance, and frequent changes of teachers. Parents whose children had been disciplined were likely to object to continued employment of the teacher who was responsible, and insist on the selection of a new one the next year. The new teacher might pass the school committee's examination well enough, and still not prove as effective as one who had already had experience in the community.

... Facts plainly show us that a person who succeeds well in managing a school in one place or community may entirely fail in another. No two schools are alike and no method of governing or management will answer for every school. Unless a teacher have a knowledge of human nature, and especially of human nature as developed in children [,] unless he have some versatility of talent, in fine unless he have *tact* as a teacher and knows how to meet difficulties in any form he cannot long succeed. Now it is difficult to find all the qualifications in one person, and when a teacher is found who succeeds well in any place it seems desirable that such an one should not be exchanged without the most weighty reasons...

Two hundred, or even one hundred years earlier, it had been assumed that anyone who could read and write a little was capable of imparting his knowledge to others. In other words, any literate person was suited to be a school teacher. Now, under the penetrating and humane thought of Horace Mann, a really intelligent conception of the nature and process of edu-

cation was gaining acceptance. The birch rod must give way to tact. Better buildings were all very fine, but they did not of themselves assure better schools. There must be teachers who could teach — to produce whom Mr. Mann founded the normal school at Bridgewater — a broader curriculum, and a more practical grading of classes.

IMPROVEMENT OF SCHOOLS

It was manifestly impossible for even the ablest of teachers to get far with a miscellaneous group of pupils of all ages in a single room. Effective attention to any one group must always be at the expense of more or less neglect of the others. Nathaniel Goddard's account, quoted in Chapter V, of the beginners who recited the alphabet twice daily, is a case in point. Hence, in 1841, it was voted expedient for the town to have a high school, and a committee was named to look into the matter. But the committee was slow in reporting, expenses were heavy meanwhile, and a year later the town decided to postpone the high school business indefinitely.

However, this seems only to have been preliminary to an unprecedented interest in school affairs in 1843. At the annual town meeting in March the school committee reported with pride that the year's expenditure of \$4.69 for each of the 245 school children in the town, gave Brookline tenth rank among the communities of the state.

Five schools had been maintained, the largest being that 'taught by a female in the North district.' It was maintained throughout the year, and its outstanding success was attributed to its possessing a permanent teacher. The student body had become so large that boys over ten and girls over twelve were removed to the separate school taught by a master in the same building. This, intended originally for boys over ten, was maintained for five months, from the first of November to the first of April.

The South and Middle District Schools were 'taught by a male five, and a female six months in the year.' The committee felt that the frequent change of teachers imposed a handicap here, and to a somewhat less degree on the similarly taught school in the Southwest District.

The Centre School was kept by a master for six months, from the middle of April to the middle of October. Here attendance was irregular, on account of boys being kept out to help with the farm duties during the summer, and the committee would have been glad to close the school, except that provision for the education of children between four and sixteen was obligatory. They felt that 'as all the other public schools in town, are taught by females in summer, it seems necessary that this school should be continued, otherwise some twenty or thirty boys, must be kept out of school during the greater portion of the year, or go into our female schools at an age which would be likely to embarrass the schools, and cause the female teachers an undue amount of trouble.'

The report then went on to urge the provision of more generous playgrounds, and adequate shade. The committee were particularly desirous of having permanent teachers appointed for all the schools, and that they should be of a type whose impression on the youthful mind would be for the best.

FIRST HIGH SCHOOL

At the adjourned meeting in April, these recommendations were followed up to a purpose. The school committee reported their resolutions to maintain female teachers in each of the three districts throughout the year, and to establish a school in the center of the town to be taught during the year by a master. Attendance at the latter was to be limited to students over ten years old, and regularity and punctuality were to be required of them, under penalties provided by the town meeting.

This school for pupils over the age of ten was called 'the high school,' and immediately proved so popular that at the next town meeting in August, 1843, the school committee explained that either larger accommodations must be provided or the attendance must be limited on the basis of age or scholastic attainment. The Town Hall, still on the Sherburne road, was thereupon appropriated as a school room, and a grant of three hundred dollars made to equip it for the service of the high school.

The following March the school committee viewed with a good deal of satisfaction the progress of education in the town.

The schools were well attended and the instruction apparently effectual. In the high school the cost per pupil was about \$13.50 per year, while in the Boston High School it amounted to about \$36; and the figures might be viewed with pride, inasmuch as the Brookline equipment and teaching were of a high standard for the times.

By 1846 matters were going pretty satisfactorily, but the high school was crowded, and not all those who were qualified by age were also qualified by their attainments to attend it. In this difficulty the town accepted the recommendation of the school committee that intermediate schools for boys over ten and girls over nine be provided in the new Town Hall (erected on Washington Street in 1845 on the site of the present one), in order that such children might be prepared for the high school without handicapping the teachers there or in the primary schools.

NEW BUILDING PROGRAM

Five years later there was fresh agitation for new school houses, but the committee who reported to the March meeting in 1852 had accomplished little, and the town tabled their proposal that \$10,000 be voted for a school, for which no definite plans were offered. The subject lagged for a year, when a new committee was appointed, who came forward with an elaborate list of resolutions on September 22, 1853. These resulted in a program for three new school houses, and an appropriation of \$10,000 for their construction.

This was followed, in the spring of 1854, by an appropriation of \$15,000 for a school house to accommodate not less than three hundred pupils, on 'the town's land between School and Washington Streets.' This was the Pierce Grammar School. At the same meeting, an additional \$12,000 was voted to complete the three primary schools of the previous year's program; and the March meeting of 1855 found it necessary to provide an extra \$4000 for the \$15,000 school.

In 1856 a committee was chosen to report on the erection of a new high school building. They examined several lots, and thought the town's property on School and Prospect Streets was most suitable. On their recommendation, the

town voted \$10,000 for a high school. Three years later there was an appropriation of \$8,500 for a brick primary school 'on the Gibbs lot' in the rear of the Town Hall, 'to form part of a larger building to be hereafter erected.'

This completes the major factors in the building program down to the Civil War. But it was not alone in physical equipment that evidences of progress were to be found. The curriculum was expanded, and subjects were introduced which, a few years before, would have been regarded as totally foreign to public school education.

INNOVATIONS IN STUDY

True, the town had over a period of some years made occasional appropriations for the singing school, but that was in the days of the close relationship of town and church. It was not in the interest of better psalms that the school committee in 1844 recommended the introduction of music into the public schools, but in the confident expectation of miraculous results. They had inquired into the experience of some six hundred schools in thirty Massachusetts communities, and concluded 'That Musick, wherever it has been introduced into the public schools, has been productive of the most happy results; that it exerts a beneficial influence upon the intellect, taste, morals, & physical constitution of the young; improves the hearts, promotes good feelings, pure tastes, refined sentiments, cheerfulness & good order; "*Softens* the temper, sweetens the disposition, and tunes the heart in unison with all the better feelings of their nature; creates domestic happiness in the family circle, and produces a concord of feeling in school."' That wasn't all, but it seems enough. Anyone who has had personal experience of public school music can judge for himself whether these singing exercises had any such effects. However, the committee's recommendation was adopted.

Then, in 1860, the subject of calisthenics came up. The school committee accepted the argument that these country children might have their mental capacity infinitely increased by the exercise of 'free gymnastics' during school hours. In consequence, the town decided to try out calisthenics, too. Eight years later, sewing was added.

Perhaps it is not for a layman to discount these innovations. They may or may not have been particularly valuable in themselves, but they were evidence of the progressive sentiment and the disposition to intelligent experiment that are so essential to profitable government.

Another move of unquestioned wisdom was the appropriation of one hundred dollars in 1849 'toward the support of a school for adults during the ensuing winter.' A more elaborate project in the same direction was discussed at March meeting in 1857, but indefinitely postponed. A year later it was voted 'To establish and maintain, in addition to the schools now required by law to be maintained in this town, two schools for the education of persons over fifteen years of age.' Passage of a state law in 1857 had opened the way for this move. The schools were to be kept from the first of October to the first of April, for which the sum of three hundred dollars was appropriated.

There were those, of course, who decried every change that involved added expense; yet the school committee in 1846 had reminded the town meeting with pride that Brookline had ranked second the previous year in the State in the appropriation per capita for the education of children between four and sixteen. It was about this time that education became the great American fetish, and the influence of a vital public interest led in several directions.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Some parents, not satisfied with the public schools, however excellent, encouraged private institutions. Several were maintained at various times for girls, including one by a Miss Stebbins, another by Miss Lucy Searle, which enjoyed a wide reputation, and another by the Misses Elizabeth and Mary Peabody, the latter of whom became the wife of Horace Mann. About 1820 the Classical School was built, under the inspiration of Richard Sullivan and General Henry Dearborn, with the principal purpose of preparing Brookline boys for college. It became a boarding school, and a subsequent owner constructed the first gymnasium in New England, for the use of students.

THE LYCEUM AND ITS WORK

Two outgrowths of the general concern with education were the establishment of lyceum courses and a public library, both really measures for the instruction of adults. Josiah Holbrook, a Connecticut man and Yale graduate, launched the lyceum plan about 1820. Originally it contemplated gatherings within each community, where individuals of more than ordinary learning in certain subjects, would expound such matters to their neighbors. From this it soon evolved into an association for the employment of lecturers, the character of whose contributions may be suspected from the fact that they were called 'lay sermons.'

The Brookline Lyceum Society was organized under the inspiration of Isaac Thayer in 1832, and nine years later the Lyceum of the Town of Brookline was incorporated by members of the Union Hall Association, who had allied themselves to provide an adequate auditorium for the lectures. Both money and personal services were enthusiastically contributed by public-spirited citizens who felt that this cultural enterprise deserved encouragement.

Unfortunately the plan of instruction was somewhat haphazard. In 1834 there were several lectures on the pseudo-science of phrenology by one Christopher Duncan, who seems to have been personally attractive to the young ladies of Brookline, and thoroughly respectable by reason of the fact that the wife of the town's Baptist minister was his aunt. Other topics included physical education, Socrates, and music, which last a listener reported 'Very inappropriate for audience.'

In the years immediately following, more was heard from the immensely popular Mr. Duncan. Rufus Choate spoke, Ralph Waldo Emerson lectured on 'Toleration,' Jared Sparks on 'The Career of the Revolution,' and others on electricity, chemistry, geology, astronomy, and the characteristics of various foreign lands. A lot of information, in more or less popular form, was delivered by more or less competent lecturers, on such a variety of subjects that nobody learned very much about anything. And of course there were those who regarded the lyceum assemblies as social rather than educational occasions, although prizes were offered for the best reports of the

lectures, and some listeners undertook to make notes of what was said.

The spirit of this project, however, was the spirit of adult education. At a later time it blossomed in the more practical university extension and high school extension lectures, in which were evident some, at least, of the characteristics of the lyceum.

A PUBLIC LIBRARY

It was a very similar interest in the promotion of the higher order of book learning that gave rise to a public library. This started with a private association in 1825, organized on a subscription basis of five dollars a year for the first two years, and two dollars annually thereafter. The president was the Reverend John Pierce, secretary, Otis Withington, treasurer, John Robinson, and librarian, Oliver Whyte, who was town clerk and subsequently postmaster. At the outset the books were kept at the librarian's home, but quarters were afterwards provided in the shoe shop of John Leeds.

The next move in this direction came more than twenty years later, in the formation of a group which Benjamin F. Baker has described thus:¹

In the autumn of 1846, a number of young men, mechanics and others, in this town, having a desire for some opportunity whereby they could improve themselves and obtain a larger range of information and mental improvement, as well as a better knowledge of books and of what was being done in different parts of the country, agreed to hire some place where they could meet evenings and dull days when they were obliged to be idle. Each one was to contribute whatever he might have of books, or papers, whether of biography, travel, fiction, or other works that might be of interest. In pursuance of that object a small room was hired and fitted up with some rough shelves and tables; each one brought his contribution of books or other matter, and they were used interchangeably. They also subscribed for and took newspapers from Boston, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Washington and New Orleans.

¹ Mr. Baker contributed the account at the request of Charles Knowles Bolton for the latter's book, *Brookline: The History of a Favored Town*, pp. 124-125.

This room was first opened in the autumn and was kept open in the evening through the winter and summer, so that the members could visit it when they had an opportunity (each member having a key). They also occasionally hired a larger room and had discussions on the topics of the day, or read papers on some subject, or recited or read poetry or prose.

This room was used until the fall of 1849, when the news of the finding of gold in California reached the town. Several of the members were taken with the gold fever, and various circumstances arising to call others away, the association was disbanded.

Anyone who is skeptical about the far-reaching influence of economic geography may see here how the gold resources of California influenced cultural opportunities in Massachusetts. The indirect effect was advantageous rather than otherwise. Elisha Hall, who had been one of the library associates, was so convinced of the worth of the enterprise, that when it had to be abandoned as a private undertaking, he persuaded Horace Mann to father a bill in the legislature to permit the appropriation of money by cities and towns for the maintenance of public libraries. But this law, passed in 1851, was not turned to advantage by the town of Brookline until 1857.

In that year the maximum permissible appropriation, one dollar for each ratable poll in the town, was voted for establishment of the library. To this sum of \$934 was added an appropriation of one quarter that amount for the year's maintenance, and the hall on the first floor of the Town Hall was made available to accommodate the books. J. Emory Hoar, then master of the high school, became the first librarian, with nine hundred volumes as a starter, and more than a thousand additional ones contributed by forty interested citizens within two months. Twelve trustees supervised this new public institution.

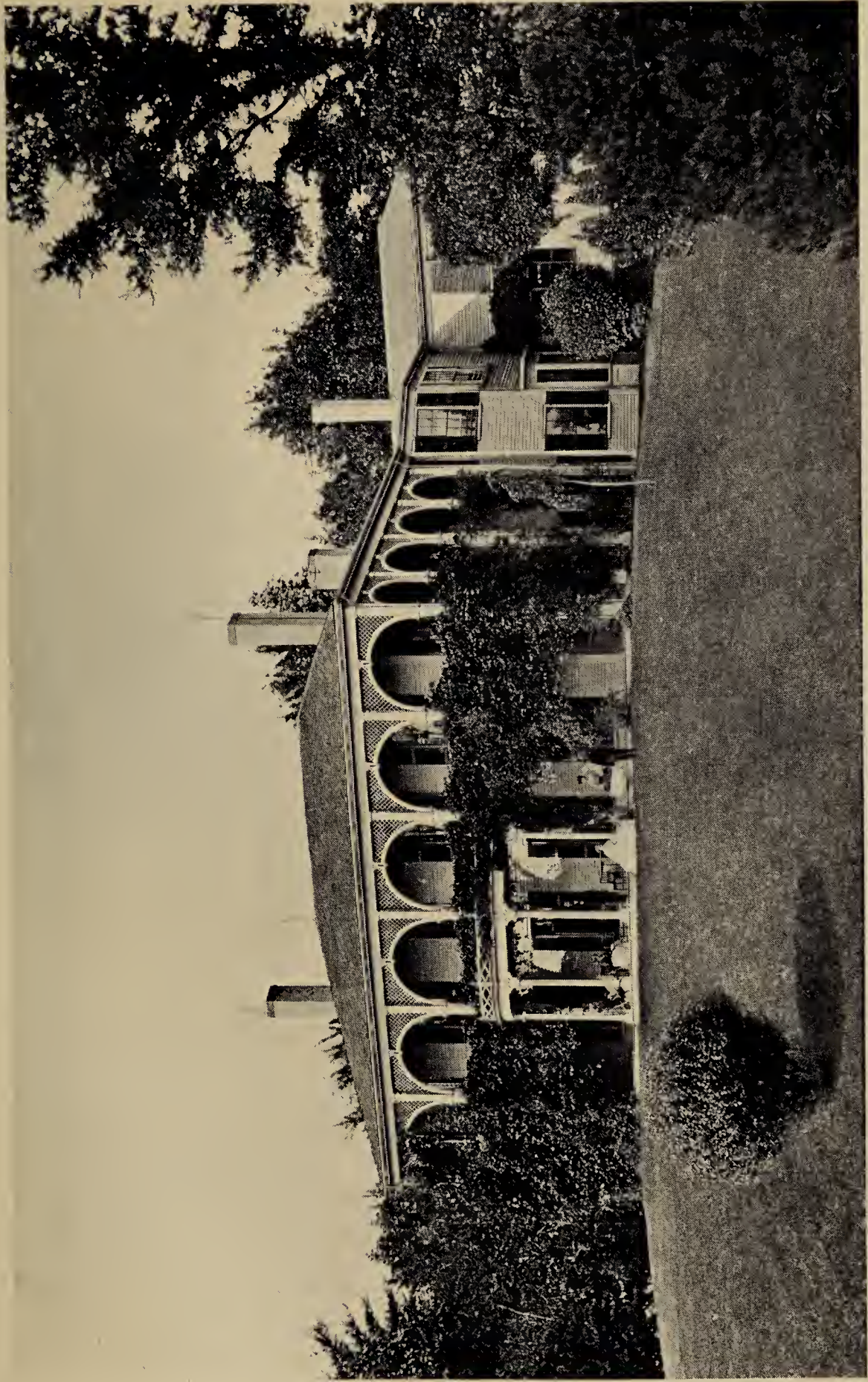
The town, ever ready to embrace a worthy project with practical enthusiasm, began to think in terms of a library building, and a committee on that subject was appointed at the March meeting in 1864. Two years later they reported their recommendation that a lot be purchased at the corner of Cypress Street and Cypress Place for \$3700, and that \$20,000

be appropriated to erect a building. The town voted accordingly, but at the adjourned meeting a fortnight later added the admonition that, if the high prices of labor and materials precluded the erection of a suitable library for \$20,000 plus whatever voluntary contributions could be had, the program should be held in abeyance.

This was evidently the case, for at March meeting in 1866 the question of erecting a library building was tabled, and a committee was appointed to consider the expediency of adding accommodations to the Town Hall instead. When they reported, however, it was to recommend an appropriation of \$6000, and this proposal was rejected, as was one by the library trustees asking \$36,000 for a new building. Brookline wanted cultural advantages, but a majority of its citizens were still giving pretty serious thought to their pocketbooks. A new committee was therefore named to examine the various sites that had been proposed, and find out how much could be had in the way of private subscriptions toward construction on each one of these.

They reported, December 5, 1867, in favor of building on land already owned by the town, with the provision that about seven thousand dollars be spent to obtain additional lands adjoining, west and north on Prospect Street. They also submitted plans suitable for the various lots under consideration, and won approval of their recommendations, along with an appropriation of \$30,000 for the new building. The following March this was confirmed, and the library trustees were authorized to build 'upon any part of the town's land between Washington, School, and Prospect Streets.'

The next year, more than 10,000 volumes were removed to the new structure. Twenty years later, nearly 33,000 books required the construction of a new wing, and in 1892 a reading room was opened, which was called Gardner Hall, in honor of John L. Gardner, a generous benefactor. Thus conservatism yielded to enthusiasm, and the Brookline tradition of doing things thoroughly if they were to be done at all, gained expression once more.



HOUSE OF JOHN LOWELL GARDNER ON WARREN STREET, ABOUT 1864

SIGNS OF GROWTH

If there was a little hesitation about laying out money for the library, it should at least be regarded in the light of several considerations. The population of the town had been growing rapidly, as has been indicated above. This increase in numbers could scarcely be effected but at the cost of some diminution of per capita wealth. There was thus an expanding body of citizenry to whom the expense of public projects was a matter of serious financial concern, and a smaller group of men to whom money was a secondary consideration if the advantages of Brookline as a place of residence could be materially improved. In a number of instances the course of progress is fairly obvious to chart. A costly improvement is successfully opposed by a large body of conservatives on the ground of expense, as in the case of the Mill Dam Road, and the efforts of a small band of enthusiastic proponents are at first checked. A year or two may pass, in the course of which one may be sure a vigorous campaign has been going on, to 'sell the idea' to the community. There are new proposals in the town meeting, and what had been rejected is at last approved. Many of those with reluctant purse-strings have yielded to the persuasiveness of progress.

Another matter that must have stimulated the impulse to conservatism was the ever-growing demand for additional and better public buildings, and a variety of services such as the village of 1800 did not require. It was not merely a question of churches and schools and a public library. A better town hall was needed; some provision must be made for a water supply, and for sewage disposal; fire and police protection became increasingly important; better streets, with sidewalks and street lights were in order. For even a prosperous community it was no simple matter to keep abreast of all these developments, to say nothing of a host of minor ones.

Furthermore, the growth of the town reflected not merely a healthy natural increase in population, but some enlargement of territory as well. Early in 1841 seven residents of Roxbury, whose properties adjoined the Brookline boundary, petitioned the Legislature to make them a part of Brookline. The opinion of the town was duly sought and, no objections being

offered, the change was made. To their report upon this matter, the town's committee added that

Agreeable to instructions, your committee have also extended their inquiries into the circumstances connected with a prospective application for the annexation to Brookline of the whole Village, including the land and meadow on this side of the Brook,...and they find the whole number of inhabitants in said Village to be One hundred and seven, of which number fourteen are children of suitable age to attend public schools. That there is now one person among them deriving support from the Town, and that the amount of Taxes they now pay to the Town of Roxbury is about Three hundred and seven dollars...

It is evidently this anticipated petition of which the Legislature gave the town notice in February, 1843, and Brookline approved the request of Jeremiah Lyon and his group. But there seems to have been some opposition before the Legislature, for the petition was renewed, in somewhat different terms, late in 1843, again approved by the town, and shortly afterward acted upon favorably by the Legislature. This meant not only a modest immediate increase in population, but a still greater potential one.

A NEW TOWN HALL

In November, 1843, therefore, the time seemed ripe to consider the town's need of a new administration building. The old structure on Walnut Street, now known as Pierce Hall, was not merely outgrown; it had been largely turned over for school purposes. Furthermore, fire had destroyed the engine house the previous summer, and central quarters were needed for the fire-fighting equipment. It was thought that a new town hall might supply both needs, and possibly some additional school rooms as well. Consequently, following the usual procedure, a committee was put to work on the case.

They considered several locations, and reported on January 30, 1844, describing three lots, one of which, on Washington Street, was described as having special topographical advantages. This was accepted by the town, an appropriation made, and the work of building undertaken, though the plan

of incorporating the engine house in the structure was reconsidered, on account of the inaccessibility of water and the probable interference of winter snows. Later instructions from the town meeting directed the committee to erect a two-story building, with a town hall above and rooms below suitable for school use. The Reverend John Pierce participated in the dedication services on the evening of October 13, 1845, when he delivered a résumé of the town's history to that time.

On November 10 the building committee presented their final report, patting themselves somewhat vigorously upon their respective backs in recognition of their own 'assiduous perseverance' in their 'arduous and responsible duties.' They had spent \$6357.52, apart from the cost of the land, and for once, at least, in history a public building had been erected within the appropriation made for the purpose. They had even bought almost \$400 worth of furniture that had not been contemplated in the original estimates. And they had provided a structure that would serve its purposes for a quarter of a century. The previous one, 'Dedicated by Prayer and Sacred musick' on January 1, 1825, had been adequate for only two decades.

THE WATER PROBLEM

The highly important question of water supply had first arisen in connection with the schools. A committee appointed at March meeting in 1846 reported:

That those families which reside near where the Schools are located have been very much annoyed, by the frequent applications of the scholars for *Water* especially in the summer season of the year, is matter of fact: — And that the scholars are interrupted in their studies by leaving school in school hours, and going in some cases the distance of a quarter of a mile for the purpose of obtaining water, is also true.

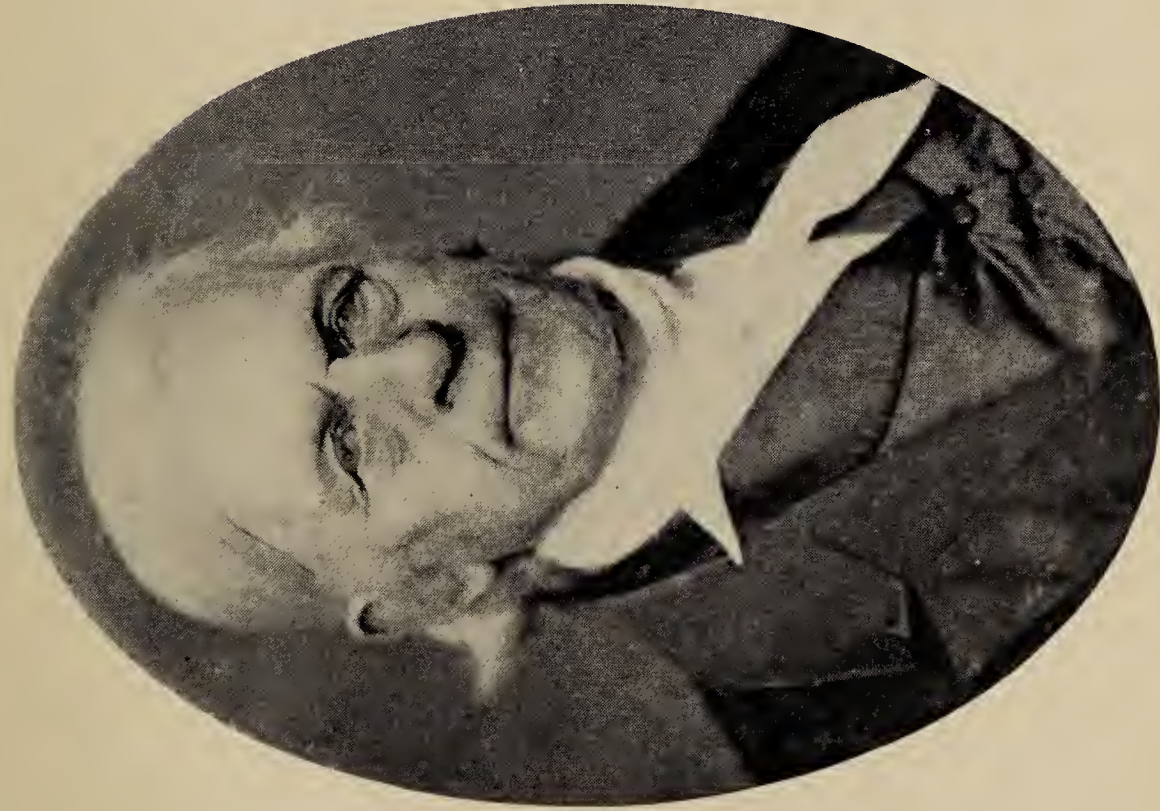
That it is the duty of the Town to *endeavor* to remedy these evils, we think no one will doubt. This can be done most effectually by sinking a well and providing a pump where it is necessary and practicable. We believe that wells can be supplied at each School House in the Town without any difficulty, except at the middle district or high school [on Walnut Street] where the land is very rocky, and there is

already a well and pump in rear of the house of Dr. Pierce for the benefit of that school which should be kept in repair at the Town's expense, — your committee would not recommend that the Town should provide a well at each school house, only in those districts where most needed, — as it will be rather a matter of experiment, whether or not the pumps can be kept in good order, — one at the Town House as the abasement rooms are soon to be occupied for schools, one also at the South Middle District. The expenses estimated at 75 dolls. each....

These were presumably the comparative innovations known as drilled wells, to distinguish them from the old-fashioned dug wells. Otherwise the committee need not have been in doubt about whether the pumps could be kept in order. Anyhow, they do not seem to have proved troublesome.

It was to be a long time before Brookline felt the need of a public water supply, but the subject was one about which the town had opportunity to learn a great deal from the earlier activities of Boston. In 1839 a committee was appointed to protest against the Boston Aqueduct Corporation's proposal to appropriate the brooks flowing through a town, on the ground that 'the streams are so small they can be but as a drop in the Bucket in comparison with the wants of the City, yet are of immense importance to the public in another point of view as they pass through a great proportion of the town, crossing the roads in several places, affording watering places (for the Inhabitants and to the travelling community) of which there are none other between the city and the upper part of Newton.' Brookline at that date relied upon domestic wells, and public watering places in the brooks, and interference with the latter would be a really serious matter.

Twenty years later Boston seems to have effected an actual encroachment, for in 1860 the selectmen were authorized to act according to their own discretion, and remove 'the whole or any part of the water pipes illegally laid by the city of Boston through the town the past year,' or bring an action for damages, or both. While this did not, of course, deprive Brookline of any water, it did amount to an invasion of property rights, and in it lay the risk of future inconvenience in changing



REV. AND MRS. JOHN PIERCE
Dr. Pierce was minister of the First Parish, 1797-1849

the location and grade of streets. What settlement was effected does not appear on the records, but presumably one was arrived at.

In 1865 an opportunity presented itself to gain some of the advantages of a water supply with a comparatively small part of the expense. A bill was pending in the Legislature to authorize Boston to build an additional reservoir, in connection with plans for using the waters of Lake Cochituate. The pipes were to be laid through Brookline, and the town therefore instructed their representative in the General Court to try to have inserted in the legislation 'a provision that the city may distribute the waters of Lake Cochituate through the said town of Brookline, and shall make and establish hydrants therein in the same manner it now may throughout the city of Boston, and if the Legislature shall, upon a respectful request therefor, refuse to make such provision,' the representative was to protest against the laying of pipes through the streets of the town. The motive for this program was not to supply running water in homes, but to establish hydrants through the town where water might be had to fight fires. It ties in closely with the decision in 1869 to appropriate \$2400 for building a reservoir at Beacon and Carlton Streets, and another on Walnut near High Street, as a fire protection measure.

The first move for a publicly owned domestic water supply came also in 1869, however, when Amos A. Lawrence asked that 'George M. Dexter, Francis P. Denny and E. C. Cabot be a committee to ascertain whether it is expedient to purchase the property of the Jamaica Pond Aqueduct Company, or any other supply of water, for the town...' This proposal was not accepted, but in May, 1871, a committee was named to consider the matter of supplying the town with pure water.

TOWN DRAINAGE

Meanwhile the nucleus of a sewer system was being evolved. In the beginning this seems not to have been a means of removing household wastes, but simply provision for the drainage of rainfall. When Boston built the new Chestnut Hill Reservoir, it was so designed as to throw surface water away from that supply, with the result that the capacity of the village

brook was severely taxed. The overflow threatened serious damage, and the town voted to put the matter squarely up to Boston. Apparently the nub of the trouble was that the forty-inch Cochituate aqueduct had been built across the course of the brook, and an effort made to conduct the stream under this virtual dam. The increased flow resulted in silting the passage under the pipe, and before the water could run over, it had to back up considerably. The solution was to provide a channel parallel to the aqueduct, to the point where the brook crossed back again, and the Boston Water Board intimated a disposition to do the right thing about the expense involved.

In 1867 the brook running past the railroad station had been laid out as a common sewer. Then the committee appointed to deal with the difficulties mentioned in the preceding paragraph, recommended an appropriation of \$12,500 for draining in Tappan, Cypress, Walnut, Boylston, and Washington Streets. Four months later, in August, 1869, the town voted \$55,000 to build a sewer from Tappan Street to Muddy River, but this was reconsidered in November, and replaced by an appropriation of \$50,000 for similar construction along a somewhat revised route. Modern sanitation might be expensive, but there was little debate over its necessity.

VOLUNTEER FIREMEN

Since every householder had his own well, we have seen that the first concern for a public water supply was to provide fire protection. Early apparatus was crude at best, and the traditional bucket brigade or the hand pump was of little avail if a real blaze started. Still, Brookline was concerned to guard itself as well as might be; the disastrous experiences of Boston furnished a series of impressive warnings.

Edward Wild Baker has prepared an account of the history of fire-fighting in Brookline,¹ in which he cites Samuel Sewall's *Diary* on the first known fire in the district. It was March 26, 1688, when, 'three Indian children being left alone in a wigwam

¹ Read before the Brookline Historical Society Nov. 18, 1903, and published in their *Proceedings* for 1904, pp. 18-41. The passages quoted on this subject are from Mr. Baker's paper.

at Muddy River, the wigwam fell on fire, and burned them so that they all died.'

Something has been told of the destruction of Isaac Gardner's house in 1768, and there were a half dozen other serious fires in Brookline in the course of the century preceding 1787. Roxbury had been forehanded in organizing a volunteer fire department, and in 1787 a new fire engine was located in the Punch Bowl Village. Of the eight members of the company, only Joseph Davenport appears to have been a Brookline resident.

The first public recognition of the Punch Bowl Village company [says Mr. Baker] came in 1794 at the great fire in Boston, July 30th. Mr. How's ropewalk near Milk street, with about thirty-six houses, barns, out-buildings and stores, was burned, and the Selectmen of Boston published in the newspapers an 'acknowledgment of the very timely and efficient aid by their brethren of the several towns in the vicinity with their fire-engines and their personal services at the distressing fire of yesterday... The towns from which engines were brought to the fire were Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury, Milton, Brookline, and Watertown.'

This public recognition, and the hope of future glory, was possibly the immediate incentive for the town of Brookline to vote in 1795 to assume one-half the expenses, after enjoying the protection of the engine and its company for eight years.

The general direction of fire-fighting was under 'firewards,' so called, elected by the town at the annual town meetings in March....

The functions and duties of firewards were set forth in the Laws of 1791 as follows:

'Firewards shall have for a distinguishing badge of their office a staff five feet long, painted red, and headed with a bright brass spire, six inches long.

'On notice of a fire, they shall immediately repair to the place (taking their badges with them), and vigorously exert themselves to extinguish and prevent the spreading of the fire, and for the pulling down or blowing up of any house, or any other services relating thereto as they may be directed by two or three of the chief civil or military officers of the town, to put a stop to the fire, and in removing household

stuff, goods and merchandise out of any dwelling houses, store-houses, or other buildings actually on fire, or in danger thereof, in appointing guards to secure and take care of the same and to suppress all tumults and disorders — and due obedience is to be yielded to them and each of them for that service on penalty of 40s.

‘NOTE. — Persons who embezzle, carry away or conceal goods at such a time, and do not restore them, or give notice thereof to the owner, shall be deemed thieves and punished as such.’

That the badges of office probably saw hard service we may gather from an item in the records of the early part of the last century covering the expense of ‘repainting the fire-staffs.’...

The new wagon purchased by vote of the town in 1797 must have been for the old engine first mentioned in 1787 — at least nothing is intimated to the contrary — but this engine, so called, was probably little more than a box, equipped with force-pumps and a brake for working them. The water had to be brought in buckets and poured into the box, from which the pumps forced it through a pipe attached to the body of the engine, as the use of hose was not then introduced.

But the old machine was well built, and was worth \$30 in 1828, when it was sold, and a new fire-engine, built by Thayer, was purchased for \$400.

The purchase price of the new engine was raised by popular subscription, the citizens of Brookline contributing \$325 and those of Roxbury \$150; and it was the intention of the subscribers that the engine should be for the use and benefit of both towns, without reserving claim of individual interest. The balance of the amount subscribed, with the \$30 received from the sale of the old machine, was expended in building a new engine-house, which was located over the brook where Washington Street crossed it, [near the railroad bridge.]

With a new engine and a new house, the company attached to the Roxbury and Brookline Engine, the ‘Norfolk’ as it was named, organized in 1829; and with this company the real story of the Brookline fire department begins, although for some years later the ‘Norfolk’ was listed as ‘No. 7’ of the Roxbury department at Punch Bowl Village.

The ‘Norfolk’ was not a suction engine, although it did use hose in place of the old style pipe, and in April, 1829,

Brookline appropriated \$50 for the purpose of aiding jointly with Roxbury in providing buckets and hose.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF FIRE-FIGHTING

The Engine Company in those days had as prominent a place in the community as a social factor as it did as a fire-fighting organization, and the old 'Vigilants' and 'Norfolks' no doubt assembled more often in the hospitable tap room of the old Punch Bowl Tavern nearby, than they did in the engine-house, in which there was room enough only to run the engine out and in.

The Engine Company was to its members what libraries, reading rooms, lectures, clubs, lodges, and historical societies are to us today, and, if we could only refer to them, the old account books of the Punch Bowl would give us many interesting side-lights on the doings of the organization attached to the Roxbury and Brookline Engine....

This group, and its nearly annual reorganizations, indulged in a series of highly fanciful constitutions; it participated in public displays, and in competitive exercises with other companies; and it provided its members with an interesting social life.

For ten years things went along with many apparent but few substantial changes. A hook and ladder were added to the equipment at small expense. The company in 1834 named a committee to ask the selectmen 'to enlarge the house and have a kettle,' the latter presumably as an accessory to chowder parties. Failing to receive this modest grant, the firemen voted to disband, but others organized to take over their duties. Then in 1839 the town voted \$900 for a new engine of the suction type, with a hose that could be dropped into any convenient body of water, from which a stream might be drawn and thrown through another hose onto the conflagration. The old engine was sold, and a sum turned over to Roxbury in proportion to the original subscriptions of its inhabitants toward the cost of the apparatus in 1828.

Fires were announced by ringing a church bell, usually that on the Baptist church.

The deacons and brethren, however' [says Mr. Baker],

did not allow any interference with the services even for an alarm of fire, as is recorded in at least two instances.

To quote from the record of the Clerk of January 20, 1843:

‘An alarm of fire was given this eve at $\frac{1}{2}$ past eight (I said alarm, it was not an alarm inasmuch as the bell did not ring, though the Co. did what they could towards it by hullooming.)

‘There was an attempt to ring the bell, but the proprietors of the church (as there was a meeting in the vestry) dispatched their infatigable [?] sexton, Mr. Luther Seaverns, to allow no one to ring the bell. The fire was on the old Porter Estate in Cambridge near the Colleges.

‘April 16, 1843. An alarm of fire was given this eve. Came from Roxbury. The proprietors of the *Brookline Baptist Church* *Refused* to allow the *Bell to be rung* because they had a meeting in the vestry, thereby refusing that the engine and company should help their Roxbury neighbors in case of fire.’

One suspects that the Baptist deacons were inclined to view the majority of alarms as summonses to social occasions rather than critical events, and looking thus at the substance rather than the form, were reluctant to have their deliberations interrupted. It is unlikely that they would have objected to ringing the bell for a fire in Brookline, but when it was merely a matter of ‘running with the engine’ to a blaze so distant that it must be either extinguished or burned out by the time the company arrived, men engaged in serious spiritual concerns were scarcely to be disturbed.

After the engine house was burned in 1843, and the engine itself seriously damaged, the town was so slow to provide suitable quarters that the firemen indignantly disbanded again. A new company was formed and flourished for six months, presumably stifled by the paucity of social opportunity. This was remedied in part by the construction of a building on Washington Street at a cost of nearly \$3000, an inspiration to a fresh organization of fire-fighters.

VALIANT DISPLAYS

A public meeting was held in the new house on the evening of September 2, 1844, at which an address was drawn up and signed as follows:

‘Officers of the Town:

‘Sirs: Owing to the little interest that has been manifested during the past year by the young men of the town of Brookline as regards the Fire Department, those who are the Bone and Muscle of your town, and knowing her to have been but feebly manned by our much respected and aged Sires, and for the last two or three months no fire department at all in a town that has justly been termed the “Garden of New England,” we could not but deem it our duty to unite ourselves together, providing the Town will give us suitable encouragement, once more to join ourselves together by subscribing our names to a paper, etc.’ [To this were appended the signatures of thirty-nine of the ‘Bone and Muscle’ of the town.]

A large gang was required to work the old hand engine with success, and the population of Brookline sixty years ago¹ was only 852 males and 830 females. To secure the necessary membership for the company, a canvasser was paid to circulate a paper for thirty-five or forty signatures in the spring of 1846, and his efforts brought a great deal of new life into the organization. Fifty members signed the constitution and started making history with a new record book....

At the first meeting of this company it was decided to be inexpedient to go out of Brookline unless absolutely needed at some large fire in one of the adjoining towns.

On the morning of July 4th, 1846, the company met at half past five o’clock, proceeded with the tub to the Village, played her out through three hundred feet of hose, then proceeded to the Orthodox meeting-house and played her out again, then returned to the engine house and sat down to a breakfast prepared by friends of the company.

During this year, and for the next few years, few alarms were given for fires in Brookline, and the company devoted nearly all its time to a strenuous social life. On the 7th of December, 1846, the Selectmen by vote were invited to partake of the company chowder.

‘The company formed themselves into couples, proceeded

¹ About 1843.

down stairs, and after waiting some time the Fathers of the town arrived. The company arose and remained uncovered while they passed upstairs. The chowder was then attacked as though we were half starved — and such a chowder as fit to his Majesty, the best ever made in Brookline.'

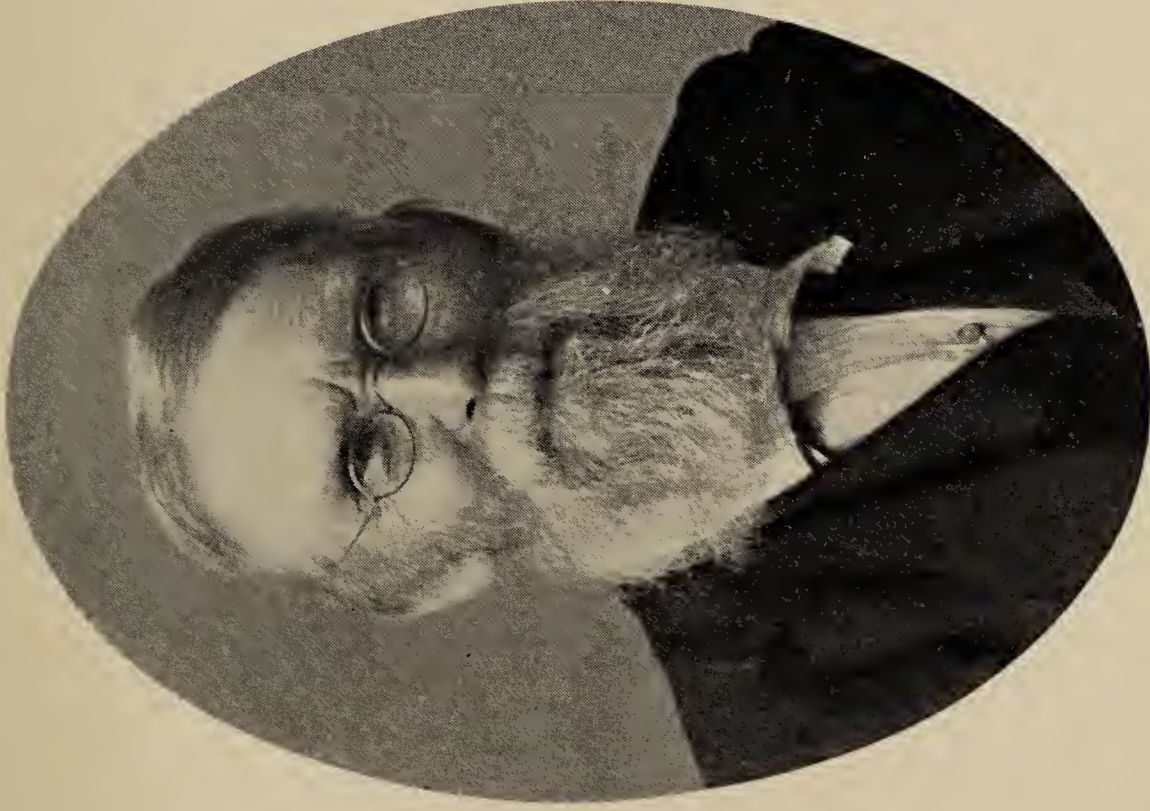
The temperance question came to the front¹ again in 1847, but alas for the company, the glorious example of the Washingtonian era was not followed. Trouble ensued and out of it the Fire Department gained much discredit, although the innocent majority no doubt suffered for the offensive minority. The immediate cause of the trouble was a small bill of \$13.75 for refreshments furnished after a fire in the Village. These refreshments, so the records say, 'were liquid, something carried in a bucket and which smelt very strong of brandy.' This bill the Selectmen refused to approve, and this disapproval displeased a considerable number of the company. The Selectmen's account of the affair recites that the Engine Company met, and raised the flag half-mast, union down, evidently as a public demonstration of contempt and disrespect for the authority of the Selectmen.

The Selectmen at once enforced measures for discipline, discharging some of the members and putting new officers in charge. At the June meeting a long evening was spent in very acrimonious discussion by the company, which was becoming much heated and quite personal, when the gathering was broken up by an alarm of fire; the company manned the rope, ran as far as Jamaica Plain, returned to the house, and disbanded.

LAST OF THE FIREWARDS

The selectmen rose to the occasion, announced that they would appoint officers, and asked for volunteers to join the company. After two disastrous fires in 1848, when the lack of water was severely felt, the town arranged for the installation of hydrants in the Village and along Boylston Street, connecting with the mains which conducted the Lake Cochituate water supply to Boston. Incendiaries were active in the town about this time, and the offer of official rewards brought at least one conviction for setting fires. Of equally serious import was the conduct of an unidentified miscreant who twice cut

¹ An earlier company had allied itself with local total abstinence societies.



DR. TAPPAN E. FRANCIS (1823-1909)

DR. CHARLES WILD (1795-1864)

Two Beloved Brookline Physicians of the Nineteenth Century



the leading hose of the engine while firemen were endeavoring to save the Roman Catholic church which caught fire in 1855.

There was no organized company and there were few fires between 1855 and 1860. In the latter year the selectmen sanctioned a newly organized force, which was somewhat disrupted by the military demands of the Civil War. The Good Intent Hose Company was formed in 1865 to take charge of the extra hose and ladder, and by 1870 they were provided with a new brick building facing the Village Square.

With this step, so far in advance of anything preceding it, came the change in policy in regard to Fire Department management recommended by the Selectmen in their next year's annual report:

'We therefore recommend the town to omit the choice of Firewards at the annual March meeting, and that the Selectmen appoint a Board of Engineers so that "as with the growth of the town this department must naturally increase, its affairs can be economically administered and its efficiency promoted by being placed under its proper head."'

With the passing of the Firewards ends the story of the old volunteer organizations.¹

POLICE PROBLEMS

Protection against crime and misconduct, or police maintenance, played a much less important part in the affairs of the town. True, stocks had been provided in 1772, but the inhabitants of Brookline were so orderly that no jail existed until the town voted \$75 in 1847 to build a lockup under the town hall. Perhaps citizens went in for a streak of misbehavior, or possibly the construction of the cells had an evil suggestive effect. At any rate, the March meeting in 1851 voted \$325 for a new lockup, also under the town house.

If it is possible to form an opinion from the town records, there can have been little need to use the place except as an occasional refuge for those who had celebrated too enthusiastically at the Punch Bowl or elsewhere. Even in as respectable a town as Brookline, intoxication furnished a recurring problem.

¹ The passages from Mr. Baker's account end here.

In 1844 an unfortunate old man named Robert Noyes was drowned as the climax to an inebriate career, and the coroner's jury pointed an accusing finger at the Punch Bowl. A measure of public opinion was aroused and the town named a committee of twenty to remonstrate with the proprietor of the Punch Bowl or whomever they might find in charge, 'against intoxicating drinks hereafter being sold by him or them, the result of which are disastrous to the town and community and especially to the youth, and should a friendly remonstrance prove unavailing, then said committee are hereby fully authorized and instructed to abait said nuisance and maintain the honor of the town and vindicate the violated laws of the commonwealth.'

Bootlegging evidently gave trouble also, for the March meeting of 1846 voted that

In view of the increasing and alarming extent to which the sale of intoxicating drinks is openly and fearlessly prosecuted in the neighborhood —

We hereby authorize and instruct our Selectmen to prosecute every person that shall continue to sell Spirituous liquors in this Town without license.

That some progress was made in this direction is evidenced by the words of the Reverend John Pierce in his discourse on March 15, 1847, when he said he felt there had been a recent wonderful temperance reform in Brookline. 'As proof,' he said, 'I will state the indisputable fact, that, for several years, since my acquaintance here, I may venture to assert, that there was not a single family, in which it was not customary to treat guests with alcoholic drinks of various kinds; and especially to supply workmen with ardent spirits, twice at least, every day. Now, it is confidently believed, that not a single farmer in the whole town, and it is hoped, but here and there one of any class ever thinks of poisoning himself or his workmen with these vile and unnatural mixtures.'

Seven years later it was resolved

That the Selectmen be directed to use their utmost endeavors to effectually suppress the drinking and billiard saloon in the village, and for this purpose they may retain

counsel, and to meet any expenses which may be incurred in the premises, the Treasurer is hereby authorized to borrow, under their direction, not exceeding the sum of five hundred dollars, and that they carry out to the best of their ability the vote of the town passed at the annual meeting on the present subject, and employ the police if necessary.

The annual meeting had ordered prosecution of all violations of the law governing the sale of intoxicants, and appropriated \$200 for that purpose.

It is not clear just who were the police to be called in aid if necessary. Presumably the reference was to the constables as arresting officers, for the first appropriation earmarked 'police' in the town budget is \$200, in 1857. This was followed, in December of the same year, by a vote of \$2500 for the same purpose, and authorization of the selectmen to make use of the police force by night or day.

At the same meeting, night-time security was enhanced by a resolution permitting the selectmen, in their discretion, 'to light lamps erected by the citizens in ways not accepted by the town.' A proposition of the Brookline Gas Light Company had been accepted in 1853, providing for the erection of twenty lamps and their maintenance at twenty-five dollars each per year. It was agreed that 'On nights when the moon shines and while the moon is up, the lamps will not be lighted.' The town's committee to locate the lamp posts was also ordered to arrange for the lighting of the Town Hall, inside and out, with gas. Then, in 1856, the town took over the lamp posts, made a new contract for gas at \$3.50 per thousand feet, and appropriated \$1200 for street lighting.

LOCAL PROHIBITION

But evidently bootleggers rather than night-prowlers continued to be the principal concern of the policemen. In 1867 the town 'Voted, That the sum of two thousand dollars appropriated for police be employed by the Selectmen in the enforcement of the laws, more especially for the prohibitory liquor law.' Three years later, however, citizens declined, by a margin of 95 to 64, to forbid the sale of beer and ale. In eight months they reversed this decision by a vote of 86 to 53.

Brookline was to be a wholly moral community, if laws could make it so. Nevertheless, there was an appropriation of \$3000 in 1870 'to finish and furnish a police station in the new hose-house.'

The town's marked interest in the restriction and prevention of drinking may in part be explained from a strictly economic angle. No doubt the moral concern was present, too, but the sensitive 'pocket-book nerve is usually the first to produce political reaction; and too many of the town's paupers were said to have reached that deplorable state of dependency as a result of intemperance. Drinking resorts in the town were over-costly to sober citizens who had graduated from putting down a few barrels of cider for the winter, to stocking their wine cellars from the cargoes of their own or their neighbors' ships.

The legitimately poor were still to be cared for, of course, but at minimum expense. The plan of boarding them out was long continued, although in 1845 it was persuasively argued that a poor farm ought to be established. The first serious steps to establish an almshouse were taken in the early eighties.

STREETS AND SIDEWALKS

Something has been told in the preceding chapter about the improvement of streets and highways which accompanied the expansion of the town. With this there developed a fairly comprehensive program of town-planning. The matter of publishing a map of Brookline came up in 1841, languished, was renewed in 1844, and resulted in an authentic survey and a map offered to citizens at fifty cents a copy. Ten years afterward a topographic survey was undertaken and a new and more elaborate map published, the partial purpose of which was to establish street lines, prevent encroachments on the public ways, and furnish a kind of guide to further steps in town-planning. Change was so rapid that by 1870 it was thought desirable to provide a still newer map.

In addition to some relocation of old streets and the laying out of many new ones, the town had gone in for other more or less related improvements. An appropriation of six hundred

dollars was made in 1858 for 'a plank sidewalk on Beacon street across the marsh from the high land to its junction with the Mill Dam,' provided 'the abutters on said street will make a continuous line of sidewalk up to Kent street.' Sidewalks, in the early days, were largely a matter of individual taste and pride, which might take any form, or none at all. Consequently a committee appointed on the subject in 1869 found themselves with a rather formidable problem on their hands.

First of all they went extensively into the matter of paving materials, visited Cambridge and Lawrence, Massachusetts, and Concord, New Hampshire, and corresponded with the mayor of New York and citizens of other cities. They priced stone flagging, brick, curbstones, and two varieties of patented 'coal-tar concrete.' Flagging, they said, had the advantages of requiring no curbstones, and of being removable if the grade of the street were changed; while both coal-tar and pine-tar concretes had to be destroyed if they were taken up, although they were comparatively cheap.

'The condition of the sidewalks of the town being so bad,' they said, 'your committee would urge that there be no further delay than is absolutely necessary, and recommend the immediate appropriation of eight thousand dollars, to be expended by the Selectmen in laying such walks as they shall deem best suited to the different streets, always remembering that a good sidewalk should protect from mud at all seasons of the year.'

Streets, of course, were still of dirt, and subject to frequent repair. Repairs cost money, and it was therefore important to keep wear and tear at a minimum. Repairs to individuals were also expensive, so there was a dual reason for the first speed law, passed in 1857:

No person having charge of any beast with intent to drive the same, shall suffer or permit any such beast to run, gallop, trot, or go at any rate exceeding eight miles to the hour through any way, avenue, or street in this town, and if any person shall violate the provisions of this by-law he or she shall be liable to a fine of not less than five dollars nor more than twenty dollars for each offence, to be paid into the town treasury.

THE TOWN'S BUSINESS

For the town of Brookline, the period between 1820 and the close of the Civil War was one of almost continuous expansion and progress. Most of the ramifications of that development were expensive. In 1820 the inhabitants voted that 'Thirty nine hundred dollars be raised for the expenses of the Town the current year and for the State and County Tax assessed upon this Town.' In addition there was a highway tax of \$500, to be worked out at \$1.25 a day for a man or a team.

Twenty years later the committee to audit the accounts of the town treasurer and of the school fund, reported that 'current expences of the year' amounted to \$4180.23. To this they added:

Your committee have great satisfaction in reporting that the pecuniary concerns of the town are in a very prosperous condition at no time within the last twelve years has there been less debt or responsibility resting upon the town, and they believe the fact unprecedented that within ten months after the last annual tax had been levied every cent of it (except the abatements found necessary by the statutes of the Commonwealth) has been paid into the treasury, every order drawn by the Selectmen paid, and the balance, \$469.55, tendered in cash by the treasurer to your committee....

It has been suggested by the Selectmen that the commission allowed to the town treasurer as collector of taxes is by no means an adequate compensation for his labors & sacrifice in their collection, and the committee cheerfully concur in the opinion that for duties so faithfully and punctually performed a greater recompense would be no detriment to the general interest.

He was accordingly voted a two and one half per cent commission for the next year.

The annual meeting in 1850 thought that appropriations totaling \$11,595 would cover the town's needs for the year. In 1860 the amount was just under \$63,000, and in 1870, something over \$215,000.

These expenditures were of course mainly accounted for by the municipal concerns described above, but there were a host of minor items that called for a little here and a little there.

Thus, with the separation of church and government, the cemeteries remained public property, and the town faced from time to time the need of enlarging the burial grounds, and providing ornamental trees and shrubbery. This seems to have been done, if not on the whole with a slight profit to the town, with little expense at any rate. True, in 1843, there was a mighty hullabaloo about the cemetery committee, who were accused of removing gravel and even stones from the tombs, to use for outside construction in which they were interested. Only an extremely conciliatory speech by George Griggs succeeded in getting the disagreeable matter tabled, by a vote of 56 to 47. Apart from this, public administration of the cemetery was uneventful. The town even maintained a hearse.

A threatened expense was met, in 1848, by directions to the town's representative to oppose the petition of the mayor of Roxbury to have the county seat removed there, unless Roxbury would assume all the cost of such removal. That same year, fifty-six dollars went for a town seal, of which Town Clerk Artemas Newell reported:

It is engraved upon steel, and represents a group of agricultural and farming implements, a view of the City of Boston in the distance, with a train of cars running between the two places; and bearing this inscription: 'Muddy River, a part of Boston. Founded 1630. Brookline incorporated 1705.'

The design is intended to be emblematical of the character of the Town from its early settlement, when designated and known as Boston Cornfield & Boston Plantation, to the present time, — the inscription to perpetuate, in a degree, its early historical associations.

Even the cost of 'ringing the bell' went up. In 1846 the town voted 'That the sum of Sixty-five Dollars be appropriated for the purpose of Ringing a Bell in this Town three times a day during the ensuing year, the whole details as to what bell, time to be rung, person to ring it, and the amount of compensation, to be submitted to the control of the Selectmen.' By 1855 the cost was \$100 a year, and it soon rose to \$125 and \$150, which does not seem an extravagant reward for the bell ringer, even though the hour of the morning clangor was

shifted from six to seven o'clock by a vote of the town in 1854. Perhaps, being deprived of the doubtful advantages of mill towns with their six and seven o'clock whistles, Brookline felt a real need of the bell.

THE SOCIAL SCENE

Certainly a merchant who must be at his office on T-Wharf for the day's business had to rise betimes if he lived in Brookline. And the social customs of the earlier part of the nineteenth century, at any rate, did not necessarily involve late sleeping. Mrs. Mary W. Poor¹ has described her own recollections:

... Families met together, old and young. The circle comprising the Goddards, Heaths, Howes, Pennimans, Sumners, Searles, Dr. Wild's and other congenial families, were often invited to each other's houses, to spend evenings in music, dancing and friendly conversation. As the Heaths were an especially musical family and the sons, Charles and Frederick, had fine voices, a musical treat was always expected at their house. The brothers often invited young men from Boston who were in the habit of singing in quartets, or single voices of especial excellence, to assist in the entertainment. The dancing was simple, consisting chiefly of what were called 'cotillions' and contra-dances. Round dances had not then arrived on this side of the Atlantic. We had never heard of the waltz except as it was mentioned in Miss Edgeworth's novel, 'Patronage.' ... The first time I ever saw waltzing was at a dancing class mostly consisting of Miss Lucy Searle's scholars taught by the elder Papanti. The great charm of the parties in those days was their perfect simplicity. The elders enjoyed seeing the younger people dance and joined in the sport when they felt so inclined. Dr. Wild's dancing was with his whole soul. He flew around like a joyous boy, the steps being after his own fashion, but nobody criticized, each being intent on enjoying him or herself and having a good time. These festivities closed by half past nine or ten, and the younger participants were as fresh and wide-awake at school the next day as if nothing out of the usual routine had happened the evening before....

Madam Babcock was an object lesson in real old-fashioned

¹ See p. 217 above.



HEATH STREET IN THE EIGHTIES (AND TODAY UNCHANGED)
Lyman estate on right; Lowell estate and Warren Street on left with T. H. Perkins estate beyond

gentility. She lived in the house [on Warren Street] now ¹ occupied by Miss Julia Goddard. The place was exquisitely kept. A walk having beds of lovely flowers on each side went quite round the place and there were beautiful trees and shrubs near the house. Madam Babcock always drove to meeting in a coach, with her footman, John Green, standing on a shelf behind, holding tassels which came from the top to keep himself steady. He sprang down the moment the coach stopped in front of the church, opened the door, let down the steps with solemn gravity and assisted his mistress to alight. When I was sent with a message to her house I always saw her sitting in the bow chamber in state. After I had delivered it she would tap upon a panel in the wall near her chair and John Green would immediately enter, so quickly that I fancied he always stood with his ear close to that panel. His mistress would then send him to fetch a piece of delicious hard ginger-bread for my refreshment, and John was always despatched for a paper and string, and all that I had not eaten was put up for me to carry away for future use.

There was pleasant entertainment for children at Captain Glover's — a gentle horse to be ridden, a tiny pond to row upon, and a barn full of hay in which to play. May Day was a picnic time for school children, with expeditions to Jamaica Plain or Longwood.

The beautiful Walley estate

extended all over the land bounded by Cypress and Boylston Streets, running behind the parsonage to the Sumner estate on the west.... The house was a picturesque object with evergreen trees so close to the piazza as to make it always cool and shady in summer.... Mr. Walley married a beautiful heiress from Martinique named Feroline Lalong. They had six sons and six daughters; several of the latter inherited their mother's beauty, and all were gay and pleasing. As Mrs. Walley was a Roman Catholic they were an important family in the church in Boston, the clergy of which were their constant guests. Bishop, afterwards Cardinal, Cheverus was there frequently.... My father ² was very fond of Bishop Cheverus and learned French in order to read many books recommended by him....

¹ 1903.

² The Reverend John Pierce.

ELYSIUM THREATENED

These, then, were the years of 'Beautiful Brookline,' the Paradise on earth. There were beautiful homes and charming society, contact with the world of affairs, and alertness to the best of the new and the old. There were taxes, too, an unheavenly touch compensated by schools, highways, street lights, and a host of other improvements that had little to do with heaven, but were regarded as great conveniences on earth.

Brookline was from every point of view a desirable place in which to live. And it was this very desirability in so many respects, this wealth and beauty and charm and modernity all in one, that presently compelled the town to fight for its existence. The inhabitants, on April 11, 1870, were confronted with a proposed bill in the State legislature, respecting which they voted 'That the Selectmen be instructed to appear before the Legislative Committee on Towns, with counsel, look after its best interests, and oppose its annexation to Boston.'

CHAPTER X

BROOKLINE IN THE CIVIL WAR

IF A difference of opinion on the justifiability of Negro slavery was a primary cause of the Civil War, it had also been, from very early times, in some degree a point of dissension in Brookline. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, slavery was not generally viewed with humanitarian horror, and New Englanders of high rectitude and commendable virtue owned both Negro and Indian servants, while indentured men and women were scarcely better off, until their time was up.

Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, who was at least a property owner in Brookline, published as early as 1700 a pamphlet called *The Selling of Joseph*. This was probably the first move against slavery in this country, developing as it did the thesis of a letter which Sewall wrote to Judge Davenport, wherein he said:

The poorest boys and girls, in this province, such as are of the lowest condition, whether they be English, or Ethiopians, or Indians; they have the same right to religion and life, that the richest heirs have. And they who go about to deprive them of this right attempt the bombardment of Heaven; and the shells they throw will fall down on their own heads.

It is certainly open to speculation whether Sewall's forehandedness in opposing slavery may not have been expression of the remorse which he felt after his somewhat panicky enthusiasm for the conviction of witches. When the witchcraft excitement had died down, and the judge was able to view the matter more judicially, he concluded that his conduct had been rash. In fact he was very much ashamed of himself, and said so publicly.

It is curious, therefore, to learn that Henry Sewall, the judge's grandson, submitted a bill to the town for the services of his 'slave Felix' as janitor of the First Church. The name cropped up again on the side of righteousness, however, when Samuel E. Sewall, great great grandson of the chief justice, in 1832

participated in the founding of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

BROOKLINE SLAVE-OWNERS

No complete picture of the extent of slave-holding in Brookline can be reconstructed in modern times, but the practice was undoubtedly common among the prosperous owners of large homes. In 1693 Thomas Nowell bought 'a neagroe Woman named Rose' from Mrs Abigail Davis; and his stepson, Captain Robert Sharp, on his death in 1765, left to his wife a Negro slave named Jane.

Deacon Ebenezer Crafts seems to have been taken in on a slave trade by one Ebenezer Dorr, sometime around the beginning of January, 1735/6. The deacon had parted with £105 for a girl named Flora, and soon decided that he had bought a liability instead of an asset. He evidently voiced his disappointment pretty freely, for Dorr wrote him, explaining that he had sold the girl with the most honorable intentions and would gladly co-operate in arriving at some fair solution of the problem. He continued that 'it is all over town that your discurege and wold give ten pounds to have me take her agane. I apprehend I had better given you twenty pounds than ever you had been consarned with her I would not a thanked anybody to have given me an hundred pounds for her that morning befor you carried her away but seeing it is as it is, we must do as well as we can...' They finally settled it by an arbitration, on terms which promised to cost the deacon some fifteen pounds.

In 1739 Ebenezer Crafts, described as a cordwainer of Roxbury, bought of Richard Champion, a Boston school-master, an eleven-year-old Negro girl named Dinah. She cost one hundred pounds, and was a faithful servant for sixty years. When she was very old and decrepit, she was tenderly cared for by those whom she had served, and 'Aunt' White, daughter of Deacon Crafts, wrote a lengthy poem about her when she died in 1803.

The Heath family, too, had slaves, and Cuff, Kate, and Primus are mentioned as belonging to John Heath. About them a number of anecdotes have become traditional, char-

acteristic of Negro wit; and the same is true of Sambo, who belonged to Deacon Ebenezer Davis, and later to his son and grandson. When he died, at the age of ninety, he was buried in the Brookline Cemetery, near Deacon Davis.

There is evidence of deep mutual regard between these black servants and those whose chattels they nominally were, and if slavery had never taken a harsher form than it knew in Brookline homes, it might never have aroused the force of a mighty moral principle.

ANTI-SLAVERY AND ANTI-ABOLITION

Only an exceptionally acute conscience could have been troubled by this sort of slavery. Further, the social philosophy of the time was dominated by a tremendous respect for property rights. To the average, conservative, New England mind, it was no more unreasonable for a slave-owner to object to giving up his slaves, than for a manufacturer to object to giving up his machinery, or a merchant his goods. They were property, and were moreover necessary to the business of operating plantations.

But there were some acute consciences, and some of the duller ones were influenced by accounts of aspects of slave life that were distressing in the extreme. The anti-slavery movement was definitely under way in Boston in 1832, and five years later Samuel Philbrick was interested in organizing an anti-slavery society in Brookline. He had been a resident since 1830, and was known to have abolitionist sympathies, but his activities first attracted serious attention in 1837.

That winter Mr. Philbrick's guests were the Misses Sarah and Angelina Grimké, daughters of a South Carolina Supreme Court justice, and themselves former slave-owners, who had come to New England to lecture and work for the cause of abolition. Once, when they lectured to an audience of women in the Philbrick home, John Greenleaf Whittier sat in an adjoining room to listen. The beloved Dr. John Pierce, who served as minister of the First Church for more than fifty years, did not join the abolitionists, but his wife was one of the Grimké sisters' audience, and a sympathizer with the cause.

At that time, however, it was far from being a popular cause,

even in New England. Conservative men of property were unready to lend support to a movement which threatened to destroy a generally satisfactory economic structure. Their disposition was not to meddle in matters so far removed from home that they offered no immediate offense, while to disturb them might be as disastrous as poking a hornets' nest. It was a case of 'out of sight, out of mind,' and 'let well enough alone.'

But the essential difference in viewpoints was presently dramatized for the community. Wendell Phillips acquainted Mrs. Philbrick with the case of a free Negro woman who was struggling to support her family, and it was arranged for the Philbricks to take the woman's ten-year-old daughter into their home. If she had come as a slave, and if she had been sent to the 'nigger pew,' high above the front gallery of the church, the community would doubtless have remained undisturbed. But Mr. Philbrick took the child into his pew with his family, and the congregation promptly became all excited.

The next week everybody was on edge, and one especially self-righteous parishioner, having arrived after the Philbricks, peered around to see if they had had the effrontery to bring the Negro wench with them. The pew was so high, however, that he could not see, and had to send one of his own children down to check up on the situation. Sure enough, the black girl was there, and the indignant gentleman gathered his family and marched them from the church in high dudgeon and vigorous protest.

Then a committee proposed to Mr. Philbrick the importance of keeping peace in the church, and intimated that if the Negro child really needed religion, she could get it to the best convenience of all concerned by taking a seat in the gallery where she belonged. Dr. Pierce himself urged similar proposals, but Mr. Philbrick thought that if the church could not accept this member of his family, it could get along without him as well. He never entered the church again.

Children reflected the arbitrary and uncharitable spirit of their elders, and the Negro child was made so uncomfortable that she could not remain long in Brookline. Likewise, William Philbrick suffered at school for the unpopular stand his father had taken, and was taunted as a 'bobolitionist.'



THE PHILBRICK HOUSE, WALNUT STREET
A station on the 'Underground Railroad' in slavery times

NEW ACTIVITY AGAINST SLAVERY

But the movement for abolition was gaining in strength and respectability. Ellis Gray Loring moved to Brookline in 1837, and became closely associated with Mr. Philbrick. The same year Mrs. Eliza Lee Follen opened a private school at Washington and Cypress Streets, and until she went to West Roxbury in 1841, she was active in the movement. William I. Bowditch and William P. Atkinson augmented the forces in Brookline. But when it was sought to hold an anti-slavery meeting in the Town Hall, a selectman, Abijah W. Goddard, denied permission. He felt fairly certain the meeting would mean a mob, and the mob would probably wreck the building. Abolition was gaining ground, but it was still not quite a thing which one could flaunt in public.

If the difficulties which beset him discouraged Mr. Philbrick, he did not show it. Rather he extended his activities to as wide a field as possible. From the inception of William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* in 1831, he was one of its principal financial backers. In 1840 he began a service of more than fifteen years as treasurer of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. His wife and daughter promoted a sewing society to make garments for the slaves, though the necessity for this remains a little obscure, and one suspects the judgment overcome by enthusiasm which led other New Englanders at a later date to provide Pacific island natives with costumes of the Mother Hubbard pattern.

Mrs. Philbrick and Mrs. Pierce and other Brookline women participated in the anti-slavery fairs which were held annually between 1840 and 1855 in Boston. Year by year their measure of success mounted a little; the abolitionists were being shown a degree of tolerance, but were not encouraged to expect general approval or support.

When the question of the annexation of Texas arose, it was manifest to everyone that the admission of the new state must be the determining factor in the continuance of slavery in the United States. If it were admitted, it would confirm and enhance the slave-holders' power; excluded, it would mark the beginning of the end of slavery. In Brookline Edward Atkinson undertook the thankless task of getting signers for a petition

against the annexation, but the prevailing lethargy of the public precluded any marked success.

RECAPTURE OF SLAVES

A crisis came in the slavery question in 1850, with the South demanding a more rigorous enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act, in return for agreeing to the admission of California as a free state, and certain provisions governing territories and the District of Columbia. Daniel Webster, with the conviction in his heart that some concession was at once fair, and essential to the maintenance of the Union, supported the Southern contention. He spoke on the assumption that slavery was an evil thing, but for the sake of amity, he advocated that enforcement which the South asked. This disturbed the Whig Party, and would probably have reacted upon Webster's career had not Fillmore, on becoming President, made Webster his Secretary of State. Then Governor Briggs of Massachusetts appointed Robert C. Winthrop, a Brookline man, at one time a student in Webster's law office, to Webster's seat in the Senate.

Winthrop agreed that a compromise was a reasonable solution of the problem, but the Fugitive Slave Bill as it was drawn was far too strong for him. 'After trying in vain for Trial by Jury,' he said, 'and *Habeas Corpus*, and Protection for Free Colored Seamen, I voted against it.' That fall the Massachusetts Whig convention approved of Winthrop's views, and announced that certain amendments to the Fugitive Slave Bill were essential to its approval by Massachusetts people.

The bill, however, was passed on September 9, 1850, and the efforts of the New England abolitionists at once became less fraught with difficulty. In many quarters there was a feeling that the national government had committed itself to an unnecessarily harsh piece of legislation, and as was the case with prohibition some seventy years later, a substantial portion of the citizenry prepared to resist the law and to do so with open pride.

Men who were law-abiding in every other respect lent themselves, their homes, and their resources eagerly to facilitating the escape of slaves to Canada and freedom. The machinery

of the 'Underground Railroad' functioned at its peak, and Mr. Philbrick's Brookline home was one of its 'stations.'

On a Georgia plantation near Macon two slaves, though they were considerately treated and well cared for, found their bondage irksome. Ellen was a mulatto so light-skinned that she was able to disguise herself as a planter's wife, while William took the part of her personal servant. Ingeniously anticipating that she might be called upon to write at least her name, they bandaged her right hand as though it had been injured, and set out upon their adventure of escape.

At length they reached Boston, and were sheltered at Mr. Bowditch's house. They spoke at a public meeting in the Brookline Town Hall, and shortly afterward learned that their master was in Boston. Ellen was then concealed in the Loring house on Cypress Street, where she was joined by William, and both were removed to the Philbrick house at William's insistence. He had learned that Mr. Loring was absent from home, and in his absence William Craft was unwilling to subject him to the severe penalty of the Fugitive Slave Law for harboring a runaway.

For three days they hid in the hired man's room at the Philbrick house, and on the next morning were driven in to Boston by Theodore Parker, John Parkman, and Hannah Stevenson. They were concealed for the night, married the following day by Dr. Parker, and sent off to Halifax, whence they sailed for England.

The case of another fugitive, named Shadrach, arose also in 1851, but came to another end. He was seized in Boston by a slave-catcher and taken before the United States commissioner, George T. Curtis. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., appeared for him and presented a most persuasive petition to Chief Justice Shaw, to no avail whatever. Shadrach was rescued by some other Negroes, but Dana found the real import of the situation in Shaw's attitude:

The conduct of the Chief Justice, his evident disinclination to act, the frivolous nature of his objections, and his insulting manner to me, have troubled me more than any other manifestation. It shows me how deeply seated, so as to affect, unconsciously I doubt not, good men like him, is

this selfish hunkerism of the property interest on the slave question.

Dana appeared also for Thomas Sims, similarly taken while he worked as waiter in a Boston hotel, but was unable to carry his point before the Massachusetts judge, the Federal judge, or the United States commissioner. An armed escort of a hundred city police conducted Sims to a ship a little before daybreak on April 12, 1851. As the vessel sailed, Sims shouted, 'And is this Massachusetts liberty?'

Most moving of all, however, was the case of Anthony Burns, who was arrested in Boston on a trumped up charge, May 24, 1854, and dragged to a Federal courtroom, where his master identified him as a fugitive. Thomas Wentworth Higginson was a leader of the crowd which, after speeches by Parker and Phillips, endeavored to rescue Burns, but succeeded only in killing one of his guards. Dana's brilliant legal efforts again failed, and a \$1200-slave was conducted down State Street to the wharf by a 'marshal's guard' of 124 roughs and 1140 armed United States soldiers, aided by the ominous presence of 22 companies of Massachusetts militia and the whole Boston police force.

The cost of enforcement, estimated at more than \$40,000 in this case, was some index to the degree of antagonism which the Fugitive Slave Law had aroused in Boston. And the spectacle which Burns presented went far to stir sympathy for him and for his fellows. It was becoming almost the thing to be an abolitionist.

FURTHER INCIDENTS IN BROOKLINE

Recruits to the cause were coming in more readily now. Martin Kennard moved to Brookline in 1854 and became active on the Vigilance Committee, which included Mr. Bowditch and Mr. Loring among its members. These were only three of the growing number who were ever willing to respond to an emergency, and to make any effort to aid in an escape.

When a slave rescued from the brig *Cameo* and hid in Lewis Haydn's house in Boston was reported discovered, Mr. Bowditch drove in with his carryall, helped to disguise the fugitive

in women's clothes, and with Austin Bearnse drove the frightened Negro to Concord at night. There he was entrusted to Judge Brooks, a sympathizer, and Mr. Bowditch returned to Brookline for breakfast.

Many another runaway passed through his hands, aided by friendly counsel, money, and heroic personal exertion. His efforts were, however, by no means confined to furthering escapes, for he was active in winning public support for the abolitionist cause. Frequent meetings were held between 1854 and 1860, announced by notices which Mr. Bowditch tacked up along Walnut Street and near Coolidge Corner... in the hope that as many as half of them would survive the efforts of the vandals who sought to tear them down.

A different kind of service was rendered by Amos Adams Lawrence, a Brookline merchant and industrialist who was one of the founders and financial backers of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society. This organization was founded to promote the settlement of Kansas, and the setting up of a 'squatter' government which would block the introduction of slavery there. A party of emigrants sent out in the summer of 1854 founded the town of Lawrence, Kansas, named in honor of this sponsor.

Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Edward Atkinson, in consequence of the importance which they attached to the situation in Kansas, aided John Brown to obtain the arms which he insisted were necessary to meet aggression by pro-slavery men there. When Brown's career culminated in the ill-considered raid at Harper's Ferry and his subsequent execution, conservative New Englanders were alienated from the abolitionist cause, which during the years between 1854 and 1859 had been progressing most encouragingly.

Wild talk and uncontrolled imaginings resulted in an attempt to arrest all who had been associated with John Brown, and his hunted son sought and found refuge at the home of Mr. Bowditch in Brookline. It is said that his extensive armament frightened the maid servant, and that Mr. Bowditch assured Brown that such defenses were not needed. 'Perhaps not,' he answered, 'but it is safer. I am resolved never to be taken alive.' He was unmolested while he remained in Brookline.

Mr. Loring died in 1858, and Mr. Philbrick in 1859, the latter assuring his son, 'William, you will live to see a war over this slavery business.' These loyal workers had devoted themselves to a cause which the law forbade, while conscience forbade them to neglect it. Their endeavors had become substantially effective, and within the two years following John Brown's raid, abolitionist sentiment swept the community. If humanity and successful commerce were irreconcilable, commerce would have to take a little set-back.

SENTIMENT IN 1861¹

The people of Brookline in April, 1861, were breathing an air charged with the fear, the dread, and the awe of a possible conflict in arms between sections of a nation divided against itself, with the occasional breezes of hope that such a conflict might by some intervention of a higher power, be prevented. The foresight of Governor Andrew and many of the far-sighted leaders of Boston and Massachusetts had caused the carrying out of the proverb, 'In time of peace prepare for war.' A study of the official and semi-official preparations made to meet the possible alternative will explain why it was, when the extremity was reached, and assistance must be given for the nation's preservation, that the state of Massachusetts, almost the farthest away from the capital in distance and time, was the first to respond to the cry of distress and place in Washington a force of armed and equipped volunteers sufficient to protect the President and the government.²

At that time I was a veteran of a number of months' membership in the Brookline infantry — and it was infantry-in-arms, but those arms were the arms of my mother, so that my personal experiences of April, 1861, were principally delight in the rattle of the drum and the music of the band,

¹ At this point quotation begins from a manuscript of Mr. Edward W. Baker, prepared in 1910, and read to the Brookline Historical Society.

² Governor Andrew went to Washington soon after Congress assembled in December of 1860, and acquainted himself with the opinions of leading statesmen, North and South. To his mind it was inevitable that war must come, and because he was firmly determined that the union must be maintained, he used his position as commander-in-chief of the state militia to put that body in the best condition for instant action. Of course it was not politic for him to speak of war as assured, so the preparations which he directed were at first widely criticized as foolish and unnecessary. — J. G. C.



HOUSE OF THOMAS HANDASYDE PERKINS, WARREN STREET
At the corner of Heath Street. Built about 1800; taken down in the sixties

or absorbed contemplation of the bright colors of the uniforms of the recruits, for all such attractions were near to our home, close by the Town Hall. And no doubt my cries were added to the cheers of those who were tramping, marching, and drilling up and down the street.

I am not attempting to relate the history of the Civil War, nor the history of any particular regiment, company, battery or other organization which participated in that conflict. I shall concentrate rather on what was thought and what was done in Brookline in April of 1861 — forty-nine years ago this spring, when the gray-haired veterans of today were boys and young men, and when the burning question was whether this nation should continue as the United States of America, or become the ‘Disunited States of the Confederacy.’

I shall not burden you with many figures, but for a moment let us compare the Brookline of that time with the Brookline of 1910:

	1860	1910
Population.....	5,164	27,000
Voters.....	738	4,710 men 523 women
Expenditures.....	\$63,434.54	
(Military).....	4,000.00	
	\$59,434.54	\$2,357,415 (ending Dec. 31, 1909)
Value of town property.....	\$106,815	\$5,955,188
Town debt	\$48,200	\$1,558,869 (Dec. 31, 1909)
Assessed valuation.....	\$10,799,800	\$104,586,100

In those days the town reports each year printed the names of delinquent taxpayers. The town boundary on the northeast was not Commonwealth Avenue, but the middle of the Charles River. Babcock hill was a hill in fact rather than name only as it is today, and the cedar grove on it and the swamp nearby made a great bird-nesting rendezvous. Where we now have Clark Road and Philbrick Road with their beautiful residences, was what was called Bradley’s hill with its heterogeneous collection of flimsily built frame houses occupied by a poorer class of the inhabitants, and later removed to the present Town Stable district and re-named Hart’s Content. Aspinwall hill was entirely covered with chestnut grove and apple orchard. Corey Hill was pasture land and orchard without roads or residences except about the lower level near the base of the hill. The Punch

Bowl and ‘Mill Dam’ Road, now Brookline Avenue, was a toll road to Boston. There was the steam railroad, one line of horse railroad by way of Tremont Street, and a line of omnibuses on Beacon Street.

The police force consisted of a ‘watch’ on Saturday nights and Sundays, which the selectmen say ‘added greatly to the peace and quiet of the town.’ After some years of disorganization an engine company had been formed ‘to run with the hand tub’ and hold an occasional clam chowder supper. The school committee drew a salary (\$500 for nine members) and Charles H. Stearns was elected a field driver. The selectmen were James Bartlett, Marshal Stearns, Thomas Parsons, Edward R. Seccomb, and Nathaniel G. Chapin, and the first three held the office until after the close of the war.

POLITICAL COMPLEXION

The political questions before the country had caused great differences of opinion which found expression in the party nominations for president and vice-president at the election of 1860. The voters of Brookline were divided by no great inequality in number as shown by the ballots cast, which totalled:

Lincoln and Hamlin.....	293
Bell and Everett.....	200
Douglas and Johnson.....	130
Breckinridge and Lane.....	27
	<hr/> 650

Just what differences in political principles these candidates represented is no part of my subject at present, but what I do want to emphasize are certain names on the ballots which were voted in Brookline. On the Bell and Everett ticket, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence of Brookline received 227 votes for governor, and on the same ticket Thomas Parsons received 211 for secretary of state. James Murray Howe on the Douglas and Johnson ticket was defeated for representative to the General Court (189) by Edward R. Seccomb (382) who ran on the Lincoln and Hamlin ticket also. This difference of opinion in November, 1860, fades away in a few months and in April following we find Amos A. Lawrence, Thomas Parsons, James Murray Howe and Edward R. Seccomb all working together in a common cause, united

in doing everything possible to enable Brookline to do her part in the struggle to preserve the union. They might not think alike when their weapons were theories, argument and discussion, but they all believed and acted alike when the weapons were minie balls and canister against a common enemy and in defense of their country's flag.

Lincoln was elected president and Wilder Dwight of Brookline, who was in Washington at the inauguration, wrote his father on March 4, 1861:

'This morning broke badly but at noon the sky cleared. I remained quietly at Willard's and was present when Mr. Buchanan came to receive the President-elect. I saw Lincoln and Buchanan take their carriage and the whole procession pass.... I got a good place. The band played Hail Columbia. The crowd was immense. The capitol steps were covered with uniforms, etc.

'Parker, of Oregon, of the Committee of Arrangements, announced that Lincoln would speak; and when Abraham rose and came forward and rang out the words, "Fellow Citizens of the *United States*" he loomed and grew, and was ugly no longer. The address you will read, and like, I hope. ... When the address closed, and the cheering subsided, Taney rose, and, almost as tall as Lincoln, he administered the oath, Lincoln repeating it, and as the words "preserve protect and defend the Constitution" came ringing out, he bent and kissed the book, and for one, I breathed free and gladder than for months.'

OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES

We can imagine the excitement in Brookline [when Sumter was fired upon] and the news from Washington and Charleston was received at the telegraph office in the railroad station, and with what eagerness the people besieged John H. Grush, town constable and newsdealer, for the latest newspapers at his shop [on Washington Street near the railroad bridge]. How John McCormack, the postmaster of that day, must have gloried in his importance talking with all the people who thronged the little old office seeking the latest news. The affairs of the nation were discussed in all the stores and gathering places, and we can easily assume that the gatherings in Baker's paint shop, Kenrick Brothers' plumbing shop, J. Guild's grocery store

and other places in the village, gave expression to quite different sentiments than were heard at Coolidge's grocery store at the corner, which was a sort of Democratic headquarters and called the 'Copperhead Crossroads,' although as time went on the name at first applied was forgotten in the loyalty shown by those identified with that center.¹

Fort Sumter was bombarded on April 12, 1861. Three days later President Lincoln called for 75,000 men to serve for three months. Thanks to the work of Governor Andrew, the Massachusetts militia were ready to move on April 17; and while passing through Baltimore on their way to Washington on April 19, they were attacked by a mob. This stirred public spirit immensely, and there was a spontaneous response.

An informal meeting of citizens jammed the Brookline Town Hall on the evening of April 20, and was called to order by Amos A. Lawrence. Prayer was offered, and John Howe was chosen to preside. 'Mr. Howe, on taking the chair, made a few stirring remarks, and closed by offering to the first family in Brookline whose head should be lost in the defense of the country a land-warrant which he had received from the government for his services in the war of 1812.'

A number of other eminent citizens made 'stirring remarks' also, and on motion of Wilder Dwight it was voted 'that a committee of seven be appointed to prepare a plan for the organization and drill of a company or companies in the town of Brookline to aid in the defence of the government, and that the committee report the plan at the earliest moment, and take such further action as they may deem necessary.' A committee was chosen, considerably revised at the adjourned meeting of April 22, and finally confirmed at a formal town meeting of April 29 with a membership comprising Moses B. Williams, chairman, James A. Dupee, Marshal Stearns, Thomas B. Hall, Thomas Parsons, William Aspinwall, William K. Melcher, Nathaniel Lyford, James Murray Howe, and Edward A. Wild.

Steps were taken to establish a military fund by popular subscription to buy muskets, and another fund to provide materials with which the women of the town might make clothing for

¹ The quotation from Mr. Baker ends here.

the recruits. Male inhabitants over seventeen years old were invited to register for drill, and arrangements were made to remove a fence between the Town Hall and school house, so as to provide an adequate parade ground. Fifteen thousand dollars were appropriated for the uses of the military committee, to be paid on the requisition of their chairman and any two members, approved by the selectmen.

FIRST BROOKLINE SOLDIERS

The military committee promptly hired a drill hall, and engaged Jacob Miller, a former sergeant of artillery, as drill master. Dr. Edward Augustus Wild, as captain, with Charles Lyon Chandler and William Latham Candler, brothers-in-law, as lieutenants, commenced to recruit a company. In this they were almost immediately successful, and the military committee planned to outfit them as a unit.

Captain Wild, however, was given command of Company A of the First Massachusetts Infantry, taking Lieutenants Chandler and Candler with him, and his orders from Governor Andrew were to fill that company to its full strength with his Brookline volunteers, and distribute the rest of them to other companies in the regiment that were incomplete. The military committee therefore curtailed their efforts on behalf of the company, but sought to do all that they could for the comfort and convenience of the Brookline men as individuals.

The First Regiment enjoyed the distinction of being the first one to respond to the call of May 3, 1861, for three-years men. Its commander, Colonel Cowdin, had offered to start for Washington immediately after the assault on Sumter, but other regiments were sent, under three-months' enlistments, while the First was retained for the time being in case it should be needed in Boston.

Company A, primarily the Brookline company, was mustered in on May 23, with Company B, the Union Guards, of East Boston, Company G, the Independent Fusileers, of Boston, and Company H, the Chelsea Volunteers. On May 24 assembled Company D, the Roxbury City Guards, Company F, the National Guards, of Boston, Company K, the Chadwick Light Infantry, of Roxbury, and Company I, the Schouler

Guards, of Boston. The next day the Pulaski Guards, of South Boston, got together as Company E, and on May 27 the North End True Blues, of Boston, assembled, with the field and staff officers.

Headquarters were temporarily at Faneuil Hall, then for the fortnight from June 1 to 13, at an old ice house called Camp Ellsworth, on the shores of Fresh Pond, in Cambridge. On June 14 and 15 the regiment was at Camp Cameron in North Cambridge, marching on the latter day to Boston and their south-bound train.

Meanwhile Wilder Dwight had been active.¹ He and Major George H. Gordon were members of the New England Guards, the major in command being a West Point graduate of 1846, and a veteran of the Mexican and Indian wars.

On April 18 Dwight went to Gordon's office and asked him, 'Will you raise a regiment?'

'I am already committed to that,' Gordon replied. 'I have spoken to the Governor and he has promised me command of the first regiment that leaves the state for the war.'

There were many difficulties in the way of proceeding with this organization, notably the fact that there was no law to permit the receiving of forces into the national service except as organized militia. Further problems were concerned with the choosing of officers, and the provision of uniforms and other equipment.

Dwight and Gordon agreed that private financial aid would be indispensable. The former accordingly drew up a subscription paper, took it out among his friends, and in less than an hour received pledges amounting to \$5000, which within a few days totaled \$30,000. Advertisements were issued and posted in public places, and recruiting began.

George L. Andrews, lieutenant-colonel, and Wilder Dwight, major, left for Washington on April 25 to get from the Secretary of War the necessary authority to raise the regiment, so that it might be certain of acceptance when organized. That official reluctantly granted their request, and they returned with the first authority, in point of time, for raising a three-year regi-

¹ This account of Wilder Dwight's work, as well as that of the mustering of the First Massachusetts Infantry, is derived from Edward W. Baker's manuscript.

ment. This became the Second Massachusetts Infantry and, like the First Regiment, it responded to the President's call of May 3, 1861, for thirty-nine regiments of infantry and one of cavalry to serve three years.

The Second Regiment went into camp at Camp Andrew, on the Reverend James Freeman Clarke's Brook Farm at West Roxbury, where the first company arrived on May 11, and whence the regiment left for the war on July 8.

RECRUITING EFFORTS

Governor Andrew had, from the first, urged the importance of military organization on a much larger scale than most others thought necessary. The activity of volunteer companies in Massachusetts persuaded him that additional regiments ought to be organized without delay, and this man power put at the disposal of the Federal Government. After long efforts, he was able at last to bring this proposal to the personal attention of President Lincoln, and on June 17, 1862, he received notice that the President would accept ten additional regiments 'from the loyal and patriotic State of Massachusetts.'

To form new regiments and fill the ranks of those which had already gone, Governor Andrew asked for 15,000 men, and Brookline's quota was determined to be sixty-one. A citizens' meeting of July 12, 1862, resulted in a request that the selectmen call a town meeting as soon as possible to raise bounty money, and that they open a recruiting office and pay each volunteer \$100 bounty. A. A. Lawrence offered to advance \$6000 for bounty payments.

This time there was not a complete and immediate response. On August 9 another citizens' meeting was addressed by a number of returned soldiers who sought to encourage enlistments. Moses B. Williams, chairman of the town's military committee, said that eighteen months previous 'the enthusiasm was so great on the part of the people that the question was not who would go to join the army of the Union, but who should stay at home; now the question was, who will come forward and enlist in this great cause of right and law, ...' The fact was, that in almost four weeks, only forty-seven of the desired sixty-one enlistments had been obtained.

When this citizens' meeting met again at its adjournment on August 12, it did so 'amid the firing of cannon, the ringing of the bells and the playing of the band.' Chairman Williams 'reported that the roll was full and more than full.'

Meanwhile, however, the Federal Government had learned, from the experience of the first Richmond campaign, that many more troops would be necessary. On July 4, 1862, President Lincoln called for 300,000 men to serve for three years or the duration of the war, and while recruiting for this purpose was going on, there was an additional call for 300,000 more men.

It was thus clear to the citizens' meeting of August 12 that recruiting must go on in Brookline. Several citizens pledged themselves to provide men, and a half dozen volunteers came forward after a talk by Major D. K. Wardwell, of the Army of the Potomac, who 'gave an account of the army and its manner of living, marching and fighting; also, of the best manner for new recruits to take care of their health and render the most help to the cause. He closed with an eloquent and fervent appeal to all classes and parties to join to uphold the old flag and preserve the best country that ever the sun shone upon, to be a blessing and a home to the generations that shall come after us, as it has been to us.' The powers of patriotic oratory should be a never-ending source of wonder.

Facing the necessity of raising further quotas, the town meeting of August 19 voted \$20,000 for military purposes, and authorized the military committee to enlist 122 men, 'being the probable quotas of the town for volunteers and drafted men.' Such bounties were to be paid as the committee and the selectmen thought expedient. The military committee reported that 130 three-year men had already been placed in the United States service, which they thought 'would more than cover the town's quota under both calls.'

In this, however, they were mistaken. The second call was, by its terms, to be met by the drafting of men for nine-months' service. Massachusetts officials were anxious to avoid the draft, and Governor Andrew wrote to Lincoln, on August 8, 1862, that 'we can answer the call, in great part, without a draft, by sending our militia regiments already organized, and being filled up, and by recruiting new ones. The iron is hot; strike

quick. Drafting is mechanical; the impulse of patriotism is vital and dynamic.' Volunteers filled the Massachusetts quota.

A special town meeting in Brookline on September 11 offered one hundred dollars bounty for enlistments for this service, and adjourned to October 2, when it raised the reward to two hundred dollars, with a special offer of ten dollars to persons who might bring in recruits. It was voted to appropriate \$16,000 for this purpose, on the assumption that seventy-five men were to be enlisted. This was confirmed at another special meeting on October 8. The quota was duly filled.

HOME WORK FOR THE SOLDIERS

Meanwhile all of the women's activities customarily associated with war work, were going on. Writing from camp on November 26, 1861, to the Brookline War Committee, Captain Edward A. Wild had acknowledged the receipt of boxes containing shirts, drawers, and mittens; stockings were expected in another box. Hospital supplies were also part of the women's contribution. Not until August of 1862 did an emergency confront the women's organization.

Then the second battle of Bull Run resulted in the loss of tremendous quantities of Union hospital stores. An urgent telegram requesting such supplies, and medical services, arrived in Boston on a Saturday night, and was relayed among the suburbs. George B. Blake, of Brookline, notified his own town, as well as Brighton and Roxbury, having first enlisted the aid of Ginery Twichell, former express rider and then president of the Boston and Worcester Railroad, a prominent Brookline citizen.

Mr. Twichell assisted first in notifying church authorities, and then in arranging transportation plans. When the congregations assembled, prayer was offered, and the people were notified of the great national emergency. In every church, materials were assembled, and the preparation and packing of bandages went ceaselessly and efficiently forward. All manner of fine garments and edible delicacies were included in the cases which, by four o'clock that afternoon, were on their way to fill the two freight cars which Mr. Twichell had waiting. These were assembled with eight additional cars in Boston—a

hundred tons of supplies in all — which Mr. Twichell personally conducted to Washington, together with twenty-one surgeons, and a number of nurses and others. The supplies were being distributed among the wounded before seven o'clock Tuesday morning, less than forty-eight hours after the appeal had been received in Brookline.

Throughout the war, Brookline continued to furnish supplies of this sort for the United States Sanitary Commission. There were personal services by women in other capacities, as well. Miss Helen M. Griggs, of an old Brookline family, served as a nurse in Washington, and after the war was a teacher among the Negroes of Richmond.

THE NEED FOR MORE MEN

In Massachusetts, at any rate, it had proved wholly feasible to raise the necessary quotas of troops by calling for volunteers. Congress, however, passed draft legislation in the conviction that it would distribute the burden more fairly. When this was put into effect in New York, riots occurred, and Governor Andrew accordingly took precautions when drafting was undertaken in Massachusetts in June and July of 1863. There was a little trouble in Boston during the first few days, but that was all.

No mention is made in the Brookline records of draftees. And it may be remembered that in Revolutionary days, the town, though it threatened a local draft to fill its quota, disregarded orders of the provincial government to draft soldiers, and persisted in raising them by the offer of bounties for voluntary enlistments.

At any rate, a special town meeting on November 24, 1863, authorized the expenditure of \$10,000 to raise the town's 'quota of men, under the call of the President of the United States.' On December 4, a citizens' meeting heard familiar patriotic appeals, and when chairman James Bartlett of the selectmen said that there was doubt of the legality of the vote of the previous town meeting, whereby the town agreed to pay the expenses of enlisting its quota, the citizens agreed to back up the selectmen, whether such use of the funds was strictly legal or not. In a few minutes those present had sub-

scribed nine thousand dollars to indemnify the selectmen (who were now acting as the town's military committee), in case they should be called to account for going ahead in the matter.

The question of the application of the draft in Brookline is a trifle obscure, but it seems probable that this point of legality was raised on that account. If the law directed that the men be raised by draft, an expenditure of town funds in the form of bounties to induce voluntary enlistments, would hardly be proper. But sentiment in Brookline was emphatically in favor of the principle of free enlistment; and perhaps there were those who preferred higher taxes to the alternative risk of being drafted themselves, though the employment of substitutes by draftees was no uncommon thing in Civil War days. In any event, the quota was raised once more, though not quite so readily and spontaneously as before.

Raising soldiers again appears as a town problem in the records of the meeting of July 29, 1864, in response to a presidential call of July 18. The town appropriated \$35,000 for the purpose, which was duly fulfilled. This is the last formal account of recruiting in Brookline for the Civil War.

SERVICES RENDERED

William Schouler, Adjutant General of Massachusetts, stated in his final report that Brookline furnished 720 men for the war, this number being 135 in excess of the total demanded. Thirty-four were commissioned officers.

Another estimate fixes the total at 880, but this is evidently inclusive of natives of Brookline who had moved to other places, and enlisted among the recruits of other communities. Considering that there were only 738 voters in the town in 1860, and that the number of men over the military age of forty-five was probably far in excess of the number between the minimum military age of eighteen and the voting age of twenty-one, Brookline's contribution of man power was generous in the extreme.

In money the town's expenditure amounted to \$134,224.99, not taking into account the purchase of some \$20,000 worth of materials to the value of which the work of women and children added immeasurably.

THE BATTLE-FRONT

To attempt to recount, even in outline, the services of the men of Brookline as soldiers, or even of those units composed largely of Brookline men — Company A of the First Massachusetts Infantry, Wilder Dwight's company of the Second Massachusetts, and the Tenth Massachusetts Battery — would be to summarize a large part of the history of the Civil War. Somewhere the line must be drawn between making this not primarily a history of Brookline, but a history of Brookline and the nation.

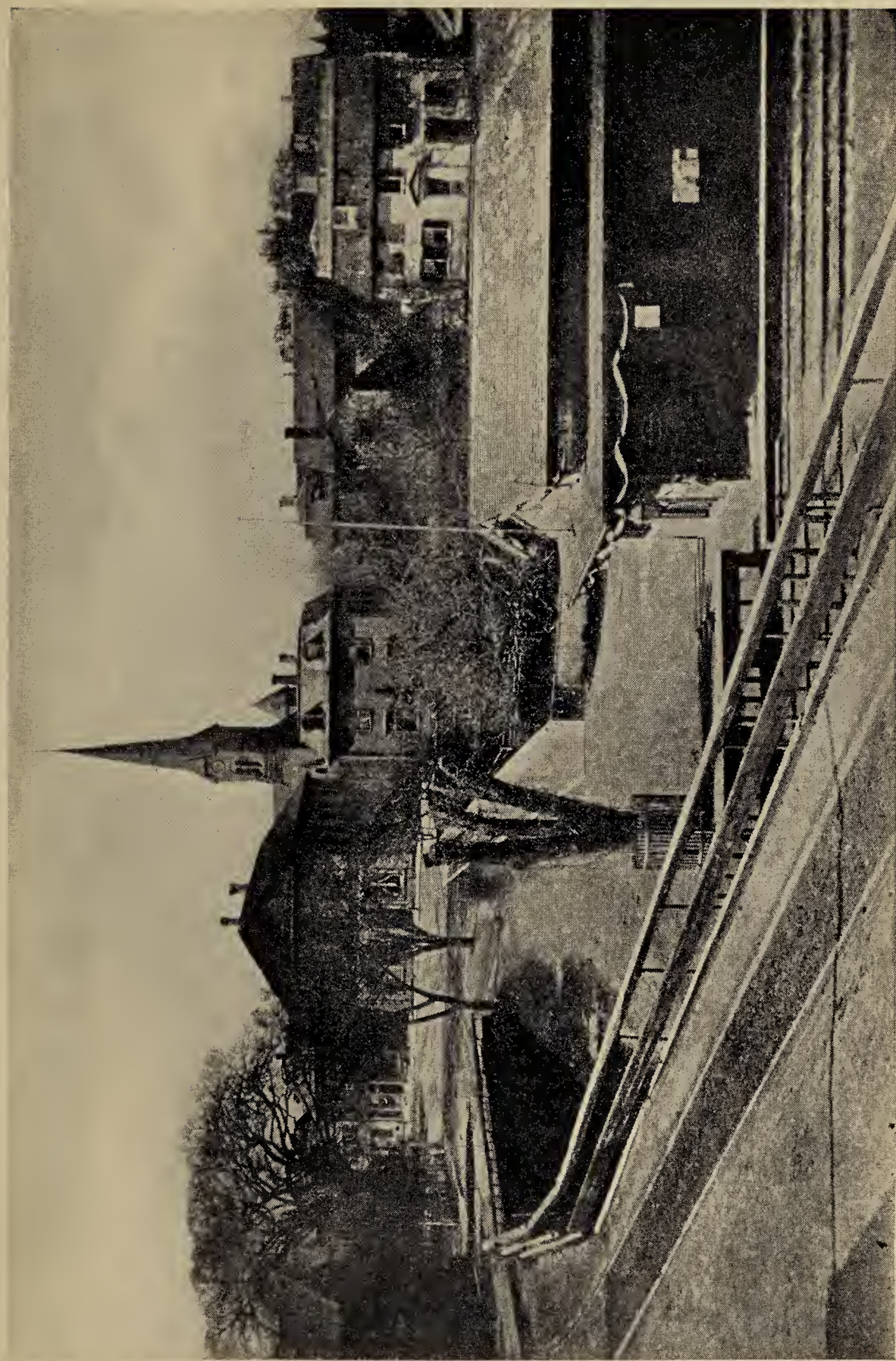
But something must be told of the outstanding Brookline officers who won special distinction in the service. There was that gallant trio, Wild, Candler, and Chandler, who started out with Company A of the First Massachusetts.

Edward Augustus Wild was born in Brookline, November 25, 1825, the son of Dr. Charles Wild. He graduated from Harvard in 1844, studied medicine, and went into practice in Brookline in 1847. The next year he went abroad for travel and study, and looked into Garibaldi's Italian revolutionary forces so interestedly as to bring himself under suspicion as a spy.

He returned home in 1850, married in 1855, and set out for Constantinople on the opening of the Crimean War, to engage himself as a lieutenant-colonel in the Turkish medical corps. At the conclusion of this service he returned to practice in Brookline, but was soon active again in military matters. He had long been ardently opposed to slavery and this fact, coupled with his military enthusiasm, led him to enlist at the beginning of the war for its duration. He was commissioned a captain by Governor Andrew on May 22, 1861.

At Fair Oaks, Virginia, on June 25, 1862, his right hand was permanently crippled by a bullet, and he came home for a short period of recuperation. In August of that year he became colonel of the Thirty-Fifth Massachusetts, and three weeks later was engaged in the battle of South Mountain under General Burnside. There his left arm was shattered by a shell, and he himself courageously ordered its amputation.

But the mere fact that he was invalided home with one arm gone, and the remaining hand crippled, by no means put an end to the usefulness of Edward Wild. Before long he was



HARVARD SQUARE, BROOKLINE, IN 1865
The station is draped in black for President Lincoln

assisting Governor Andrew in the recruiting of colored troops, and in April of 1863 President Lincoln made him a brigadier general of volunteers. In that capacity, he set about raising colored troops in North Carolina, and during the campaign of 1864 he was again active in the field commanding a division of colored troops — infantry, artillery, and cavalry — in the siege operations against Petersburg and Richmond. When a superior force of Confederates surrounded him while he was guarding some army stores on the James River, General Fitz-Hugh Lee called upon him to surrender. He returned the demand with the inscription, 'We will try it. Ed. A. Wild, Brig. Gen'l Vol's.' His defense prevailed.

General Wild entered Richmond April 3, 1865, took part in the pursuit of Confederate fugitives south as far as Georgia, and later participated in the early work of 'reconstruction.' Mustered out on January 15, 1866, he found himself physically incapable of resuming his medical practice.

After several years of varied experience in mining, both in California and near Lake Superior, he went to South America in 1891 to assist in the construction of a railroad in Colombia. Less than a month after his arrival there, he died, in the city of Medellín; and there lies the grave of this courageous gentleman and gallant adventurer.

William L. Candler was one of the two original lieutenants of the famous Company A. He had not been in active service long, when he attracted the attention of General Hooker, and was presently made a colonel on that officer's staff. With him he served throughout the war, and though it is said he had three horses shot under him, he was fortunate enough to escape being wounded himself. Subsequently he was active in veterans' affairs, and at his death was President of the Third Army Corps Union, Commander of the C. L. Chandler Post of the G.A.R., and a member of the Board of Officers of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion.

Charles Lyon Chandler, the other lieutenant of Company A, became lieutenant-colonel of the Fifty-Seventh Massachusetts Regiment after service with his original command through the first battle of Bull Run and the Peninsular campaign. He was fatally wounded at Hanover Court House on May 24,

1864, and was cared for by Colonel Harris of the Twelfth Mississippi Regiment, who was responsible for conveying news of his death to his mother in Brookline. He stood high in the affections of officers and men, and his loss was deeply felt. His sister, as it chanced, was the wife of his comrade in arms, Colonel Candler.

Wilder Dwight, who had helped to recruit for the Second Massachusetts Infantry, became its lieutenant-colonel, and died of wounds received at Antietam, September 19, 1862.

CONCLUSION OF THE WAR

There is no room to doubt that the unheralded bravery and effectiveness of numerous others among the Brookline contingent reflected upon them credit as great as that accorded these better known characters. When the town had turned from anti-abolitionism to anti-slavery, the change had been a whole-hearted one. The campaign to free the slaves and to preserve the union had been whole-hearted, too. Everyone had given whole-heartedly — money, leadership, even life.

Governor Andrew proposed celebration of April 19 as a day of thanksgiving, commemorating both the day of Lexington and Concord in 1775, and the first bloodshed by Massachusetts troops of the Civil War, in Baltimore in 1861. But on April 19, 1865, the nation was mourning the death of Abraham Lincoln.

CHAPTER XI

ANNEXATION CONTROVERSY AND EXPANSION

THREAT OF ANNEXATION

THE drain of the Civil War impeded but did not halt the march of progress in Brookline. For a few years, funds were diverted from public construction projects to more pressing military business, but Brookline had already gone so far before the war that Boston was viewing the town with covetous eyes and more than a tinge of regret that the village of Muddy River had been set apart in 1705. When national affairs had at last become less turbulent, the campaign for the annexation of Brookline to Boston began. It was to furnish the principal occasions of local excitement through the decade of the 'seventies.

In 1870 Brookline was notified of a bill in the legislature 'That such towns and parts of towns lying within six miles of the City Hall of the city of Boston, on the southerly side of Charles River, may be annexed and incorporated as a part of said city of Boston.' This was the move mentioned at the close of Chapter IX, and successfully opposed by the selectmen under the town's orders.

There were those who, in the heat of argument, declared that the next attempt sprang from treason. Some of Brookline's own citizens, headed by Willard A. Humphrey, actually petitioned the legislature to annex the town to Boston. By a vote of 243 to 82, the inhabitants at a special meeting on January 23, 1872, again instructed the selectmen to oppose the project, and to employ counsel to protect the interests of the town. This resistance was effective.

The next year, however, matters went further. On May 16, 1873, the legislature went so far as to pass an act 'to unite the city of Boston and the town of Brookline,' subject to the approval of the voters affected. They had, thus far, shown themselves firmly opposed to annexation, but there were some leading citizens who evidently feared the worst. These, whose confidence in their neighbors was a little shaky, included T. P.

Chandler, Augustus Lowell, Ignatius Sargent, John L. Gardner, Amos A. Lawrence, Robert Amory, T. E. Francis, James S. Amory, John C. Abbott, and Isaac Taylor. They sought to enjoin the change on the ground that it would deprive the people of Brookline of the popular form of government guaranteed them by the state constitution, and substitute a representative government, which was something quite different.

By the terms of the constitution, the General Court was authorized to set up city governments, with the provision 'that no such government shall be erected or constituted in any town not containing 12,000 inhabitants, nor unless it be with the consent, and on the application of a majority of the inhabitants of such town, present and voting thereon...' There seems certainly to have been a good argument that to make Brookline a part of Boston would be equivalent to changing its form of government in substantially the way described; and as the population was only about 6700, and no application had been made nor previous consent given, by a majority of the voters, it would scarcely have strained the court to grant the prayer of the petitioners. However, it seems to have been thought that the inhabitants could consent as well after as before the passage of the bill in the legislature, and the fate of the town was again left to rest in the hands of a special town meeting. There, on October 7, 1873, Brookline was preserved by a vote of 707 to 299.

According to the issue of the *Brookline Independent* next following:

The scene that ensued beggars description. For more than five minutes the hall, containing nearly a thousand men, crowded together as close as they could stand, resounded with cheers of the most joyful band of men that was ever seen. Men waved their hats in the air, mounted on chairs to give more effect to their enthusiasm, and shook hands with every one that was next to them.

But the dragon was not slain. Within three weeks he again raised his ugly head in the town meeting, and again the town prepared to battle annexation. A committee was named for that purpose, authorized to draw whatever they might need

from the contingent fund, and then provided, at the next annual meeting, with a contingent fund of \$10,000. The town's annexationists obtained an injunction against this use of public money, but adequate private contributions were forthcoming.

CHARGES OF EXTRAVAGANCE

If Brookline's progress in many directions had made it an attractive morsel to the annexationist dragon of Boston, its unparalleled development during the 'seventies went to enhance its desirability, while the attendant heavy expenditures made some of its citizens the more ready to toss the town down the dragon's throat. Alfred D. Chandler summarized the situation thus: ¹

That decade from 1870 to 1880 was one of violent fluctuations in the prudential affairs of Brookline. Its valuation then rose and fell by the millions as never before; in one year the expenditures trebled; the debt was increased six hundred per cent; for water, sewers, roads, and a new town hall, unexampled demands were made upon the town's borrowing capacity; in five years, from 1870 to 1875, the interest account increased over one thousand per cent. Over a million dollars were spent on roads and sidewalks in that decade; and notwithstanding this the depreciation of property, abutting on four streets alone, namely, Washington, St. Paul, and Marion Streets, and Aspinwall Avenue, all widened or made at the time, was nearly \$450,000, between 1875 and 1879. The charge was pressed upon the Legislature that the town was governed by 'a ring,' that its government 'was a failure,' and that the only relief was by uniting with Boston.

In a sense there *was* a 'ring' — probably the most honorable, upright, and wholly public-spirited 'ring' that ever existed. The government of Brookline had fallen into the hands of leaders who had a passion for superior excellence in public as well as private affairs. Progress, in terms of waterworks, schools, and streets, amounted to an obsession with them. They were themselves able and willing to shoulder the heavy financial

¹ 'Brookline, a Study in Town Government,' in *New England Magazine*, August, 1893, p. 784.

burdens, and felt that their more conservative fellow citizens should be ready to march with them. This group would have, naturally, a large following among men of little property, who were appreciative of the advantages to be conferred, an insignificant part of the cost of which would fall upon themselves. With such an enthusiastic majority functioning efficiently, it is little wonder that the conservative group were taken with acute pains in the region of their pocketbook nerves, and were ready to adopt even so heroic a measure as annexation.

It was presumably the chairman of the selectmen, Charles D. Head, who wrote their report for the annual meeting in 1874. With the substitution of his metaphorical whale for the metaphorical dragon mentioned above, it fits neatly into the preceding argument:

The town is once more called on to defend itself from being absorbed — a worse fate than befell the prophet Jonah, for he was swallowed singly, while if we go down we shall find previous competitors for internal advantages,¹ and if dissatisfied with the want of accommodation, or if we disagree with our hospitable host, we shall not be likely to recover our liberty, or identity, as he did.

The business of girding for defense was wise, for the dragon — or, if you prefer, the whale — remained both unappeased and undismayed. In 1875 the proposal for engulfment was more insidiously stated; it was 'to reunite' Brookline to Boston. This made it sound more like a home-coming. But the inhabitants of Brookline were not gullible enough to refrain from their usual precaution of instructing a committee to oppose the legislation.

A CONTINUING STRUGGLE

In 1876 came the suggestion that a metropolitan system of parks and sewers was a very necessary thing, and could of course be best assured if Brookline were swallowed up in Boston. The town dismissed the proposal with the pungent resolution 'That a committee of five be appointed by the Moderator to oppose the annexation or union of the town to Boston,

¹ West Roxbury and Brighton had been annexed to Boston in 1873. — J. G. C.



HARVARD SQUARE, BROOKLINE, AND THE RAILROAD BRIDGE IN 1885
Looking toward Village Square

there being at present no desire on our part for such union, and to resist the scheme for a metropolitan system of sewers, drains, and parks, because our scheme for a main sewer will work harmoniously with any one which a metropolitan board would be likely to adopt, and we have no money at present, or in the near future, to expend for a system of parks.'

The annexationists and their opponents went through the same ritual in the spring of 1879, and the final struggle came that fall. Then a new petition for annexation was submitted to the legislature, bearing 333 signatures of Brookline inhabitants who thought they would be better off as Bostonians. Eight of the signatures were in duplicate, which left 325. Of these 74 were not included on the voting or property lists of the town; in fact, only 210 represented legal voters in the final analysis.

Perhaps these facts gave courage to the home rule advocates, or it may be that with ten years of wrangling the subject had begun to lose interest. At any rate, when a special town meeting was called in January, 1880, the total vote on the subject was materially less than had been cast in 1873. Annexation was repudiated by a majority of 541 to 272, and the usual committee was appointed to make the customary representations to the legislature. Norfolk County, to which Brookline belonged, despite its territorial insulation, viewed with alarm the prospect of losing a third of its tax revenue and accordingly made representations on its own account. The interests of Boston and of the state were also elaborately analyzed for the benefit of the legislative committee on towns, which finally reported against the bill, having concluded that none of the interests concerned would be advanced by annexation. Since this defeat, Boston's annexationist impulses have been comparatively quiet.

FROM WELLS TO WATERWORKS

Fundamentally, all this trouble might be traced to the urge for modern sanitation. As the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had been dominated by the church, and the nineteenth century down to the Civil War by the new concept of education, so the main concern of the reasonably prosperous

householder in the last three decades of that century was running water — water which not only ran into his house, but also out. The more metropolitan the character of a community, the less satisfactory were back-yard wells, and rural sanitation; while at the same time, the larger were the costs of obtaining an adequate water supply, laying the necessary mains and service pipes, and providing a sufficient system of sewage disposal. Forehanded, Boston had already appropriated the nearest available surface-water resources, and when Brookline got around to action, it faced the problem of supplying a town of more than 7000 inhabitants from a numerous group of wells.

That plan, however, was not hit upon until the various other possibilities had been exhausted, and 'the subject of supplying the town with pure water' had been discussed from every possible angle. The committee which made its report in January, 1872, considered the purchase of water from Boston, erecting works in connection with West Roxbury, and the construction of an independent system. Boston, however, had no water surplus, and was little interested in the Brookline proposal. The project to draw water from the Charles, with West Roxbury, was blocked by the fact that Boston claimed the river. However, a remarkable group of springs was available, not far from the Ward school house, which was estimated to be adequate, even in a time of prolonged drought, to supply a town of 10,000, and this at an estimated cost of \$166,000, including nine miles of mains and seventy-five hydrants for the fire department. The committee thought the town would probably outgrow such resources, but the pipes would continue valuable in connection with any other service, and the immediate cost was moderate.

There had evidently been talk, however, about the possibilities of Jamaica Pond, and the subject was therefore referred to the committee again, with instructions to confer with the proprietors of the Jamaica Pond Aqueduct Company, one of the private waterworks organizations already in business. But before anything was done in this direction, Boston appears to have precipitated the situation by asking the permission of the General Court to take water from the Charles and Sudbury

Rivers. The Brookline selectmen hastened to urge the claims of their town to similar consideration, while at the same time they suggested to the March meeting of 1872 the possibility of Brookline's obtaining some of the surplus which Boston would presently have, without the expense of building independent waterworks. This, it was argued, would be no more than fair, inasmuch as Boston water mains had been laid through Brookline streets for twenty-five years with no compensation and considerable inconvenience to the inhabitants.

Boston's next move was to confine her application to the legislature to the use of water from the Sudbury River, and West Roxbury, Newton, and Brookline all put forward their claims to the Charles. The town's committee still thought well of their original proposal, but acknowledged that it must be a temporary expedient at best. They therefore urged an endeavor to buy water from Boston and, failing this, an independent development of the Charles.

Negotiations were slow, and resulted at length in nothing more satisfactory than a vote of the Boston Water Commissioners, not binding on the city, to the effect that they thought, when their additional plant was installed, they would probably be able to supply Brookline with 500,000 gallons of water a day. Meanwhile, authority from the legislature being had, the town voted to take 750,000 gallons daily from the Charles and a year later, in 1874, declared an intention, according to the terms of the statute, to take twice that amount. The immediate demand, of course, was not so large, but a liberal expropriation might safeguard the future.

OPPOSITION TO PROGRESS

The vote of March 19, 1873, to take three quarters of a million gallons of water daily was by no means unanimous. The sensitive pocketbook nerve had grown jumpy under the prospect of a \$400,000 appropriation, and there were only 303 voters in favor of a water supply, as opposed to 288 who thought they could afford to do a lot of back-yard pumping for that amount of money. But this majority of fifteen was sufficient to put the program over, and to authorize \$400,000 of 'Brookline Water Scrip' at a rate of interest not exceeding seven per cent.

A busy month followed, with partisans determined to get out every possible vote. When the bond issue came up for a second consideration on April 14, it was defeated by 421 to 343. For the majority of Brookline citizens, a Saturday night tubbing in the kitchen was going to be good enough, as it had been good enough for their fathers.

On May 1 they started all over, with the appointment of a new committee 'to consider the question of obtaining a supply of pure water for the use of the town; what measures, if any, need to be adopted to carry off the waste of such supply; the method and cost of the introduction and distribution, and the number of households that will take a share of such supply when obtained.' This committee marched pretty much in the tracks of their predecessors, and on October 28 the appropriation of \$400,000 was voted again. The first water commissioners had already been chosen, and they were now instructed to do nothing about waterworks until after the adjourned meeting should be held, but to go right ahead with the expenditure of not more than \$200,000 to lay mains in the following streets:

Alton Place, Andem Place, Aspinwall Avenue from Harvard to Toxteth, Beacon from Winchester to Pleasant, Beacon from Hawes to C. K. Kirby's house, Boylston from Cypress to Washington, Brookline Avenue from Washington to north end of Pearl Place, Carlton, Chestnut from Walnut to High, Clyde, Colchester, Cypress, Cypress Place from Cypress to R. S. Davis' house, Davis Avenue from Cypress to Washington, Davis Place, Dudley, Essex from Mountfort to Brighton Avenue, Francis, Grove, Harvard from Washington to William J. Grigg's house, Hawes, Harvard Avenue, High from Chestnut to Irving, Holden, Irving from High to Walnut, Ivy from Gregory's house to Guild's house, Kent, Linden Place, Longwood Avenue, Monmouth, Mountfort from Prescott to Essex, Newton from Grove to Clyde, Park, Pearl Place, Perry, Pierce from Holden to Prospect, Pleasant from Harvard to Egmont, Prescott, Prospect, School, Sewall from Walnut to middle entrance to Sewall Place, Sewall Place from Sewall to last house, St. Paul, Summit Avenue, Toxteth, Village Lane from Walnut to Guild's house, Walnut, Walnut Place, Washington from Roxbury line to Park, Webster Place,

White Place, Winchester from Beacon to omnibus stables, and place off Washington Street near Pond Avenue.

All of which defines with some exactness the part of the town in which the spirit of the modern, or sanitary, civilization was thought to have made such inroads that all of the finer elegancies of modern plumbing would soon be in demand. To this plan there may have been charges of favoritism, for a later vote authorized the water commissioners to extend the pipes 'in all streets in the town where there will be immediately water-takers sufficient to pay an interest of one per cent on the cost of such extension, provided such cost shall not exceed one thousand dollars.' More expensive projects were to be submitted first to the commissioners for their opinion, and then for approval by the town.

SOURCES OF SUPPLY

At the adjourned meeting after the appropriation was passed, nothing adverse to the construction of the waterworks came up, and the commissioners seem therefore to have proceeded under authority of the ordinances passed on October 28, 1873, to govern their work. Although the engineers who assumed charge of the construction did not plan to take water from the main body of the Charles River, the town was disturbed at a proposal which threatened the purity of the supply, and directed the water commissioners and selectmen to appear before 'the appropriate legislative committee and oppose the pollution of Charles River by the diversion of Pegan Brook or other foul stream into it.'

While construction was proceeding, the needs of Boston were continually growing, so that by the spring of 1875 the relations of the towns were reversed in one respect. Anticipating a surplus, the inhabitants of Brookline signified by vote their disposition to sell water to Boston. Such sale seems in fact to have been confined to Bostonians residing near the Brookline limits, and was not a wholesale supply turned over for distribution by the city.

The water, technically taken from the Charles, was really withdrawn from underground circulation just before it would

have become part of the body of the stream. About one hundred and seventy driven wells were put down on the bank of the river, and from them water was pumped which would otherwise have issued as springs on the bed of the Charles.

Within three years of the time when the project was undertaken, and with an additional appropriation of \$75,000, the waterworks were completed. True, some proprietors of mills on the Charles threatened suit because the river was low, and they blamed the withdrawal of water from the new wells; but altogether everything was very fine and the townspeople were full of mutual congratulations.

IMPURE WATER?

Then someone noticed some queer things in the water! Strange little growths, they seemed, and very definitely the sort of things that no one wanted to take internally. Had something gone wrong underground, so that the source of the town's water was not what had been supposed? Had the heavy expenditure for waterworks been wasted, and a 'supply of pure water' not been obtained after all? In October, 1878, the town named a committee to inquire into the cause of the alleged impurity of the water then in use.

It transpired that a lot of little plants of a common seaweed family called algæ, harmless but unpleasant to see, developed in this underground water if it was long exposed to the light while standing in reservoirs. On scientific advice that the algæ would get nowhere if the water were kept in the dark, the town experimentally built a covered reservoir on Single Tree Hill for the high-pressure service. This worked out so effectively that similar procedure was followed on Fisher's Hill for the rest of the town's water supply.

The only other major trouble was when something went wrong with the filtering gallery, and was finally attributed to fraud in its original construction. It was not fraud on a large, municipal scale, with public officials receiving cash consideration; someone had simply sought to economize on work in a fashion which inspection had not revealed. A committee appointed on April 6, 1880, to investigate reported a year later, in a manner most unusual for Brookline that they 'could

not find out who were the parties guilty of the fraud.' Nevertheless, the town at last had a water system that worked, and in 1932 was still working under its original superintendent, Fayette F. Forbes.

Year by year miles of new pipe were added as the growing population demanded a more extensive service. An arbitrary system of charges for water service was gradually supplanted by the introduction of meters, which were optional with the householder but much preferred by the superintendent of the waterworks, on the ground that they were fairer to the careful home owner, and helped to eliminate costly wastefulness.

A SEWAGE SYSTEM

With the extending network of mains and service pipes, an equivalent system to carry off wastes became an immediate necessity. The long accepted custom of burying unwanted things in the back yard or heaving them into the nearest brook, would no longer serve.

The first preliminary to a sewage system was the establishment of its grade — that is, fixing the bottommost level to be drained, below which cellars might not be dug except under special circumstances. As late as 1874, while the waterworks were in progress, the town was instructing the selectmen, in their capacity as the Board of Health, to arrange for the cleaning out of the back-yard resorts which still served the community in lieu of a sewage system.

Sewers were originally stream valleys or open ditches, always offensive to the eye and often to the nose. By 1876 matters were coming to a head. The water system was nearly ready, and the selectmen had outlined some plans for sewage disposal. In January of that year the town voted to refer the subject to a committee 'with instructions to consider whether the present system of sewers cannot be extended so as to meet the immediate necessities of the town until a more complete and extensive plan can be devised and executed; and also to confer with the Commissioners of Sewers and other proper officers of the city of Boston with reference to making such a system in conjunction with that of the city, and to consider the subject of freeing the natural water courses of the town from all sewage

matter.' As in the case of the waterworks, there was the lingering notion that the thing might be done more economically in conjunction with a neighbor.

But this was not to be, and in the last month of 1876, the inhabitants decided to ask the legislature for authority to borrow \$300,000 on six per cent, twenty-year bonds, for the construction of sewers. When the legislature refused, presumably on the ground that the town had already incurred about all the debt it could carry, the amount was reduced to \$125,000, for which legislative permission was not required. To this was added a tax appropriation of \$20,000. Brookline would at least go as far as it could. Then, in May of 1878, the legislature provided for the assessment of part of the cost of sewers on the abutting property owners, and the town proceeded, under those terms, with a comprehensive plan for a sewage system. Within fifteen years this comprised some forty-two miles, and was considered the best equipment of its kind among the towns of New England.

Meanwhile the allied problem of the Muddy River flats had been dealt with. Tides deposited much of the unwelcome débris of the Back Bay along the margins and shallow bottom of Muddy River. To remedy this, it was proposed that a dam, with tide gate, be constructed on Western Avenue in Boston, so that the tides could be excluded, and the waters of Muddy River released at low tide. This would keep out Boston sewage from the Back Bay, and would protect residents of the Boston as well as the Brookline bank of the stream. Under authority of the legislature, a dam was duly erected, with the consent but without the co-operation of Boston.

PUBLIC PROTECTION

A good deal of the activity in this direction was the outgrowth, in one way or another, of the army Sanitary Service, forerunner of the Red Cross, during the Civil War. That work had served to dramatize the importance of health protection and preventive measures against disease. Thus, a smallpox hospital was established; measures were taken to manage even primitive sewage disposal as inoffensively as might be; and in 1876 town by-laws were passed in twenty-seven sections, relat-



WASHINGTON SQUARE IN 1887, LOOKING WEST

The upper view comes to the left of the lower and somewhat overlaps. Beacon Street is at the left of the fork and Washington Street at the right.

ing to the interment of the dead, the management of vaults and drains, the disposal of house offal, ashes and the like, and various other matters concerned with sanitation and public health. For the first time a physician was put in charge of public health work.

The older protective services, fire and police, were both expanded. The fire department had already been taken out of the volunteer class, and made a part of the town's business. The appropriation for its maintenance in 1872 was \$4500, not including \$1500 for new hydrants, \$1500 for a new reservoir, and \$3000 for finishing the new engine and hook-and-ladder house. Ten years later, it was \$10,500 'for the use of the Fire Department, and for purchasing a horse and chemical engine for Longwood.' By 1885 the fire-fighting force was enlarged to nearly fifty, mostly 'call' men, and it grew but little during the rest of the century. Equipment, however, was kept up-to-date and in good repair.

Old, hand-operated pumps were replaced by steam fire-engines. The meeting of February 6, 1873, voted to buy two of these, but on April 1 the motion was reconsidered and tabled; following which there was an appropriation of \$6950 for one engine. Numerous reservoirs were constructed, however, in various parts of the town, for without any extensive distribution of hydrants, only accessible artificial ponds could be relied upon in case of sudden need.

Fire stations were added and old ones enlarged as circumstances seemed to require. In 1874 the highly advanced idea of a telegraphic fire alarm was presented for consideration, but nothing was done about it. The subject was 'indefinitely postponed' in 1877, and brought to adoption only after long delay, in 1887. This is one of the rare instances in which Brookline was slow to adopt a really useful and progressive device; after its installation it was regarded as of the greatest importance.

With the introduction of the water system, it was decided to put the steam fire-engine out of service, but to keep it in commission for possible emergencies. The men who were to be responsible for its operation in case of need, were to be selected from those whose usual employment was in the vicin-

ity of the place where the engine was kept. Thus it is apparent that the firemen of those days were not 'full-time' firemen, but were subject to call whenever a fire broke out. They differed from the volunteers only in that they were compensated in money instead of chowder parties and other social advantages, and were under an obligation to serve when called.

In 1899 the town sought and obtained a legislative enactment permitting a reorganization of the fire department under a fire commissioner, and B. W. Neal, Jr., was appointed to that office. The force under his direction comprised twenty-seven permanent employees and fifty call men.

POLICE ADMINISTRATION

Brookline never had a 'crime wave,' but with a rapidly increasing population the number of those whom it was expedient to lock up for a while, now and then, naturally grew larger. Arrests in the early 'seventies were about two hundred a year. In 1872, therefore, the town appropriated \$3000 to buy 'a lot of land lying between the hose house on Washington Street in the Village, and Walnut Street' as a site for a police station. The next year, when the question of building came up, it was decided that the old Town Hall could be adapted at a cost of \$3500 to provide a police station, a court room, accommodations for an evening school, four cells, and two rooms for lodgers. Evening school, if any, would meet in the principal hall, served by its own separate entrance.

Agitation for better police accommodations continued, however. It was said that this use of the Town Hall afforded too much publicity for unpleasant sights, and that the effect on near-by school children was adverse. Finally, in 1898, a committee was authorized to obtain plans, and an appropriation of \$75,000 was made for 'a new public building for court and police purposes' at the corner of Washington and Prospect Streets.

A proposal to connect the Brookline police station by telegraph with those in Boston was turned down along with the fire-alarm telegraph in 1877. Instances of desperate criminals whose flight might be intercepted by such a device were unknown in the town in those days, and the expenditure

appeared unjustifiable. However, an appropriation was made in 1886 for a fire-alarm and police telegraph system, which worked out so effectively that Chief Alonzo Bowman praised it annually in his official reports and it has been elaborated almost every year since then.

The cost of police protection was consistently more than that for the fire department. It averaged around \$15,000 to \$20,000 a year during this period, most of which seems to have gone for preventive work — the maintenance of watchmen, and the like. The problem of inebriety does not seem to have claimed as much special attention as it did before the war. Liquor licenses were regularly granted under appropriate restrictions, and proposals to forbid the sale of beer and ale were voted down by considerable majorities. With expansion the town had taken on a somewhat more liberal complexion.

From 1886, Brookline regularly elected to exclude liquor-sellers under the local option laws; but this seems to have been purely a matter of home defense. A proposal for state prohibition was voted down by the town in 1889. Despite the conviction that four fifths of the disorderly intoxication in Brookline was due to the fact that citizens had only to walk across the Boston line, the town was not ready to impose its moral standards on others.

SUNDAY LAWS

But liberality did not extend to so serious a matter as working on Sunday, even under the most extenuating circumstances, as appears from the case of George J. Walther who found himself in a very embarrassing situation indeed until William I. Bowditch came to his rescue — the Mr. Bowditch who for so many years shared the honor of serving as moderator at town meetings, principally with Charles H. Drew and Rufus G. F. Candage. Mr. Walther was arrested by a Brookline police officer on May 13, 1872, on the charge of illegally working on Sunday.

According to the policeman, he had watched the Walther home throughout the spring and never seemed to observe any outdoor work being done except on Sunday. On a Sunday in April there was raking of leaves and transplanting of flowers,

and on the first Sunday in May the effrontery of Mr. Walther in repotting a passion flower for his wife, and screwing a hook into the waterspout of his house in order to train up a vine, was so offensive to Policeman Clark that he arrested the man.

Mr. Bowditch thought that this was going too far, and enlisted the interest of a number of influential citizens who petitioned the selectmen either to pay the small fine out of the town's funds or permit the petitioners as individuals to pay it, to drop the prosecution, and finally to instruct the police to take no notice of infractions of the Sunday law unless they were specifically complained of. The selectmen were in doubt as to their power in the matter, and voted that it was inexpedient for them to take any action.

What seems particularly to have concerned Mr. Bowditch was the fact that Mr. Walther had been abroad during the early part of the spring, and could not possibly have performed the illegal work at which the annoying policeman testified he had seen him engaged.

Whatever the underlying explanation of all this, it should at least not be charged to the enlightened police chief, Alonzo Bowman, who with foresight observed, in 1891: 'I would make physical force the latent power of an intelligent policeman.' He knew how to build a police force, even if there were occasional individual failures.

THE TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM

Improvement of communications went ahead, although expensive projects received sanction only after careful consideration and sometimes bitter debate. When the Boston, Hartford & Erie Railroad Company sought to build a line through Brookline 'from the Reservoir station on Brighton Street, to a point near the Cottage Farm station, with the purpose of making an independent line into Boston,' it was resolutely opposed, except with the understanding that there should be no grade crossings in the town. The policy was one that saved a good deal of subsequent expense, when the general agitation for grade-crossing elimination began to be felt in 1889. Meanwhile, in the late 'eighties, widening of the Washington Street railroad bridge was compelled by the town.



WASHINGTON SQUARE IN 1887, LOOKING TOWARD TOWN
Beacon Street at left, Washington Street at right; tannery and gashouse in center

Maintenance of streets imposed an even heavier burden. This could no longer be accomplished by the co-operative work of citizens, and the town established its own staff for the purpose, with a considerable investment in land, stables and other buildings, horses, carts, and a variety of equipment, for many years thereafter administered by the able Michael Driscoll. In 1872 there was an appropriation of \$6000 for watering the streets alone — simply a matter of dust prevention in summer. At the close of the century this item accounted for \$17,000 out of a total appropriation of \$70,000 for street maintenance.

Large appropriations were frequently made to lay out new streets, or to relocate and widen old ones, including Washington and Harvard Streets. A number of duties which had formerly rested upon individual property-owners were taken over by the town. Thus, in the spring of 1873, it was voted 'That hereafter the Superintendent of Streets be authorized to keep the sidewalks where the town has made plank walks or concrete walks, or has placed curbstones, free from ice and snow, and to keep other sidewalks as clear as circumstances will admit.' In the course of that year the town voted \$51,000 for highways, \$15,000 for sidewalks, and \$7000 for street lamps. The sidewalks were almost all constructed at town expense, since it was agreed that abutting property-owners were not to be assessed except in cases where the walks were more for their convenience than for the general convenience of the town.

LIGHTING THE STREETS

Street lights were rapidly established throughout the town, and the appropriation mentioned just above, the selectmen thought would enable them to light up the few dark places that remained. The gas rate fixed was pretty high, even for manufactured gas, and the economies were long observed of leaving the lamps unlit on moonlight nights, and turning them out on other nights by the time all honest citizens were supposed to be in bed. In 1876 there was a concession to the night-hawks, or perhaps to the occasion of the centennial year, and it was voted to keep the gas burning all night at the street corners.

Four years later Edward S. Ritchie, a Brookline citizen, doubtless well aware of the disposition of his fellow townsmen to make all practicable savings, put forward a scheme for using a special type of oil lamp on the streets instead of gas. This looked promising, and the annual meeting appropriated \$9000 for its adoption. But on the very day of the next annual meeting the Brookline Gas Light Company circulated a pamphlet with the title, *Why Brookline Streets Should be Lighted with Gas*. The company, it seemed, had checked up on the efficiency of the new plan and found that under it seven times as many lights went out as when gas was employed. The pamphlet argued that oil, in addition to being less efficient, was really more expensive; and on behalf of the company a proposal was put forward to reduce the local gas rate for private consumption if the town would give up Mr. Ritchie's scheme and return to gas on a contract basis. An agreement was accordingly made for gas, at a flat rate of \$16,347.33, though Mr. Ritchie continued to maintain oil lamps in some localities, and got \$2100 for it. It was supposed that the moon would serve on five nights a month, no account being taken of possible clouds.

This lighting business was the subject of prolonged agitation. Electric arc lamps were introduced — very bright, and proportionately expensive. Then came incandescent electric lamps, and a new Welsbach mantle for gas lights, to say nothing of an improved fuel for the former oil burners. The town experimented with all these, endeavoring to get the most effective street lighting at the lowest cost, and dallying now and then with the idea of a municipal electric plant. Water got into the gas pipes, froze, and put out the lights; overhead wires to the electric lamps were objectionable in appearance; carbon arcs often went bad; and oil lamps blew out on occasion, so the happiest solution was hard indeed to reach.

ADMINISTERING THE TOWN'S BUSINESS

After twenty years of service the wooden bridge over Muddy River on Longwood Avenue was found in such shape, in 1877, that it had to be replaced. The committee who advised on this exhibited a fine example of canny analysis. They figured that

any kind of bridge would require about the same floor repairs, but that an iron substructure would last indefinitely, while a wooden one would have a life of about twenty years. However, interest on the investment in ironwork for that time would amount to more than twice the total cost of building and maintaining a wooden bridge. Or, as they expressed it, if a twenty-year view of the thing were taken, a wooden bridge would cost \$550 a year and an iron bridge with a wood floor, \$1692 a year. So of course the town voted for the wooden bridge.

It is this kind of committee work that seems to discredit those who objected that the town government was in the hands of an extravagant ring. Undeniably, vast sums of money were spent, but there is every reason to believe that the town always got something the inhabitants really wanted, of the quality which they expected to get, and at a price which was eminently fair. One gains satisfaction in the discovery that, although a lot of hard-headed negotiation was done, in the occasional instances where a contractor perhaps lacked the technical right to enforce a claim morally due him, there was never any attempt at evasion on the town's part. On the other hand, when bills totaling \$1100 were submitted for work in moving the pumping station, the town voted 'That in the opinion of this meeting the bills are excessive and unjust, and that they be referred to the Selectmen for settlement, and that the matter be discretionary with them whether to settle by arbitration or otherwise, as they shall deem best.' As the town was perfectly willing to pay for what it got, it was equally determined to see that it got what it paid for. The frequent reference of disputed claims to arbitration in preference to litigation is, by the way, a mark of enlightened business methods.

THE GREAT BEACON STREET PROJECT

Despite this evident soundness of management, however, the principal improvement project of the period became the subject of violent controversy. This was the widening and improvement of Beacon Street.

The movement was an inspired one, originating with the West End Land Company, which held property that would

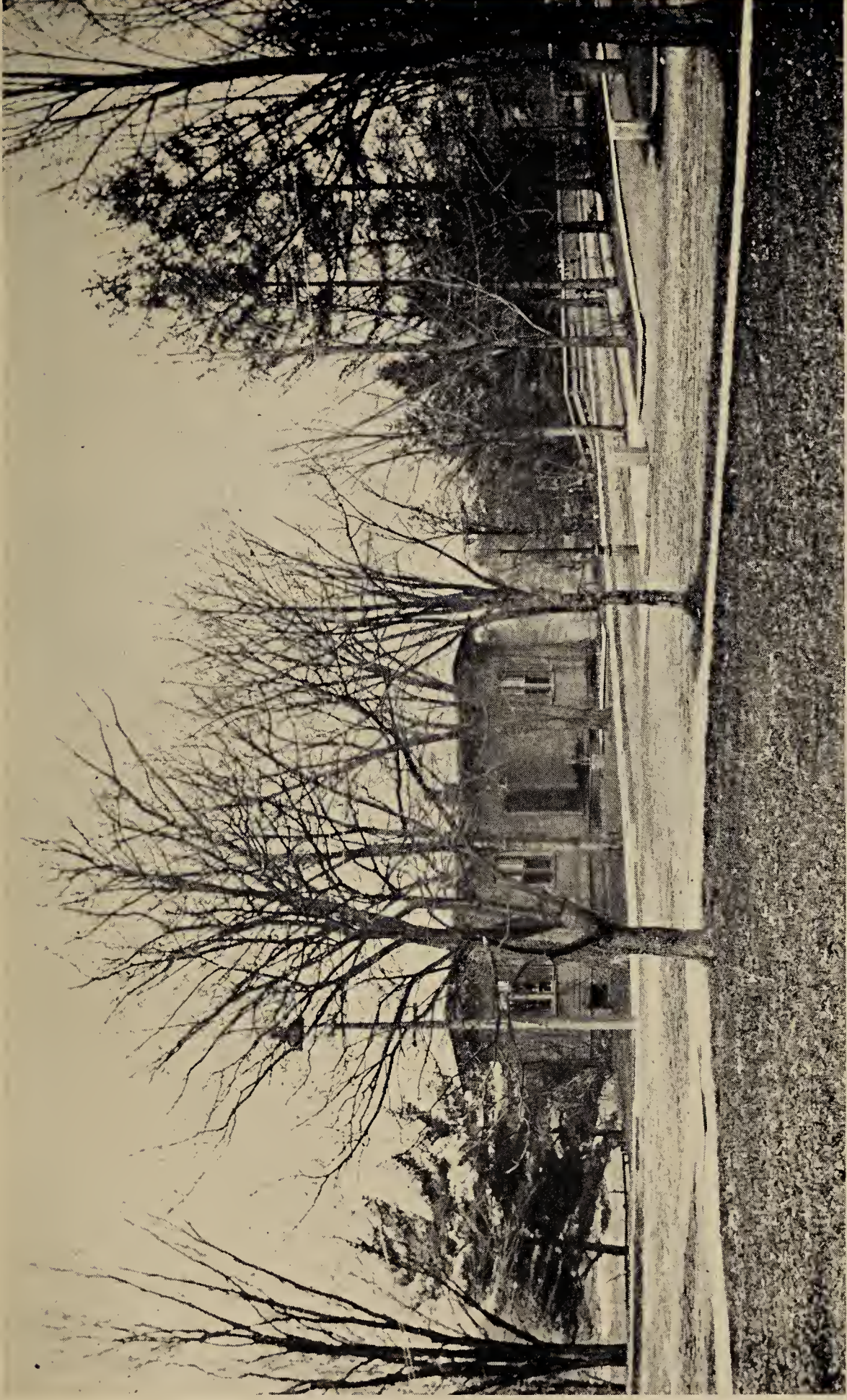
be materially enhanced in value if the plan was adopted. It was first formally brought to public attention by the petition of about a hundred citizens, on August 9, 1886, requesting the selectmen 'to lay out a townway, or townways, by the side of the highway in said town, called Beacon Street, beginning at or near St. Mary's Street, at the boundary line of the city of Boston, and ending at the boundary line of said city, easterly of the Chestnut Hill Reservoir, so as to make an avenue including the present area of Beacon Street 200 feet in width.'

Beacon Street runs westward from the State House in Boston, about ten miles to Newton Lower Falls. It enters the limits of Brookline about two and a half miles from the State House, and leaves them at the Brighton line, a little over two miles farther. It was this section of the street, in Brookline, which was sought to be improved.

The street had been laid out in the town, the section west of Washington Street in 1850, and that east of Washington Street in 1851. This had been done, however, as a county way, and when it was sought to enlarge the thoroughfare as a townway, the technical point was raised that 'there might be some difficulty in the collection of betterments by the town if the selectmen were to proceed without special legislative authority.' On this account it was thought best to have the selectmen ask the General Court for permission to treat the street as a townway for the purpose in question.

A great deal of local publicity attended the plan, which was expounded in detail in *The Chronicle* and *The Brookline News*, and an exceptionally large town meeting gave it unanimous approval. The real estate interests, headed by Henry M. Whitney, owned about half of the land which would have to be taken, and this they volunteered to contribute without charge, together with half of the total cost of construction. But the burden on the town would still amount to something approaching a half-million dollars, and when the program developed such sudden momentum, the conservative opposition began to organize.

Various objections were put forward: it was contended that the project was properly to be governed by the special legislation covering parkways; it was said that the town meet-



BEACON STREET CORNER OF CARLTON STREET BEFORE THE WIDENING
Schoolhouse on the northwest corner

ing's endorsement of the plan was so thoughtless and extravagant as to amount to ruinous incompetence; it was argued that the whole program was simply a promotion scheme to benefit certain private interests, and, on the other hand, that it was supported by large numbers of men who hoped to gain employment by it. But the symptoms, on close examination, revealed only an acute attack of a latent chronic affliction — inflammation of the pocketbook nerve. This had affected only forty-eight of the sixteen hundred voters of the town, but they were mostly men of property, and they felt that protection of their interests required them to engage counsel and oppose the efforts of the selectmen to obtain legislative authority.

At the hearing before the Committee on Roads and Bridges in January, 1887, the matter was ably and elaborately argued. Mr. Whitney, speaking for the land company, admitted that they expected to make money by the increase of values resulting from improvement of the street, despite their offer of a large contribution. Other property-owners indicated their willingness to give land for the widening, and it was pointed out that the objectors, far from suffering actual damages, except in instances of a few unfortunately shaped lots, might expect to profit with the rest. Some of these, of course, reasoned that if they did profit, it must be at the expense of increased taxation, and Beacon Street as it was, was good enough for them.

It was suspected in some quarters that the opposition came partly from a representative of the Metropolitan Railroad Company, which had been petitioned three years previously by Brighton and Brookline to give them a direct line to Boston, but without success. The widened Beacon Street was to include a central strip for car lines, with room for trees on each side, and the West End Railroad Company had been granted the right to build a line there, provided they did so within a year. The anticipated increase in population would require transportation facilities, and it was thought well to assure them without delay.

In its final outcome, the controversy was another victory for progress. The legislature acceded to the petition of the Brookline selectmen, not simply in acknowledgment of the

wishes of a large majority of the town, nor yet in response to the persuasiveness of able attorneys, but in inevitable consequence of the wisdom and soundness and fairness of the plan.

The ultimate cost to Brookline was \$465,000. Within six years the land in strips five hundred feet wide on each side of the street had increased by \$4,330,400 in assessed valuation, with a resultant increase in revenue, at the tax rate of \$11.80 per thousand then prevailing, of \$51,000 a year. Economic justification of the undertaking was prompt and convincing.

There was less excitement over the expenditure by the town of another half-million dollars for its share of a hardly less important project — the development of Riverdale Park, now the Fenway. Originally described as a 'preliminary plan for the sanitary improvement of Muddy River,' the matter was entrusted to the firm of F. L. Olmsted & Co., which meant that such terminology was sure to be an understatement.

RAILROAD SERVICES

Interest in cheap and convenient transportation to places outside Brookline had become a matter of public concern long before the Beacon Street car line was projected. The town that had at first resolutely opposed railroads, and remained firm in its reluctance to permit grade crossings, gradually became convinced of the importance of public carriers. A really large population could comprise but few who owned private conveyances; moreover, this new population was, for the most part, employed in Boston, and convenient getting to and fro was of vital, daily importance.

The town meeting of April 1, 1873, voted 'That a committee of five be appointed by the Moderator to examine and report upon the whole matter of the travelling accommodations between Brookline and Boston and adjacent places.' Two weeks later, when they were called upon, they asked for additional time; and nobody seems to have thought of bringing the subject up again.

Almost four years later an article appeared in the warrant, 'To see what action the town will take to secure better railroad accommodations at the station in the Village, and at Cypress Street.' The resulting votes reflect the sentiment

of the meeting far more accurately than can any paraphrase. They were three:

That this town most earnestly expresses its conviction of the necessity, for the best interests of the town, of a new railroad station in the village, with lower rate of fares and more frequent trains, at the earliest possible moment, and instructs the Selectmen to do all in their power to aid the project.

That the Selectmen be instructed to use all their efforts to induce the N.Y. and N.E.R.R. to carry out all the agreements in reference to the grade crossing at Cypress Street, — as to double gates, a station, and stopping the trains, — which the Charles River Railroad deliberately made with the County Commissioners, and to prevent all encroachments on Tappan Street.

That the town ought to have the same advantages as to postal delivery and cheap postage which the other suburbs of Boston now enjoy, and that the Selectmen be requested to communicate this resolve of the town to the Representative of this District in Congress.

In a more distinctly local field of transportation was the Metropolitan Railroad Company mentioned above. The officers of this organization were treated to some pretty direct language in the spring of 1872, when the town directed that a committee confer with them, 'and ask that the company shall reduce the fare between this town and Roxbury upon said road, and to otherwise give the citizens such accommodations as are due them; and if such accommodations cannot be had as are due to our citizens, the Selectmen be requested to remove the track from the streets of said town, agreeably to a petition now before the Board of Selectmen.'

Of course there was a zone, somewhere, in which the expedient must come into conflict with the æsthetic. Horse cars or, later, electric trams, represented a necessary concession to public convenience. They came about gradually, as a more or less logical evolution of local stage coaches, and there was no great shock of transition. But the threat of an elevated railroad 'in Boston and neighboring towns' in 1879, was a dreadful thing, to be opposed with all vigor. New York's elevated steam railways were certainly not a reassuring example.

TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH

With the beginning of 1880, Alexander Graham Bell's unexpectedly useful toy occasioned a request to the selectmen. They told William R. Cabot, representing the Bell Telephone Company, that poles might be set in certain specified streets, if they were at least one hundred and fifty feet apart and painted dark brown, if all wires were at least twenty feet above the ground, and no trees were cut or injured without special permission. The traditional solicitude of the town for its shade trees resulted in the naming of a committee to look after them, in 1883. A local telephone exchange followed immediately upon the introduction of the lines.

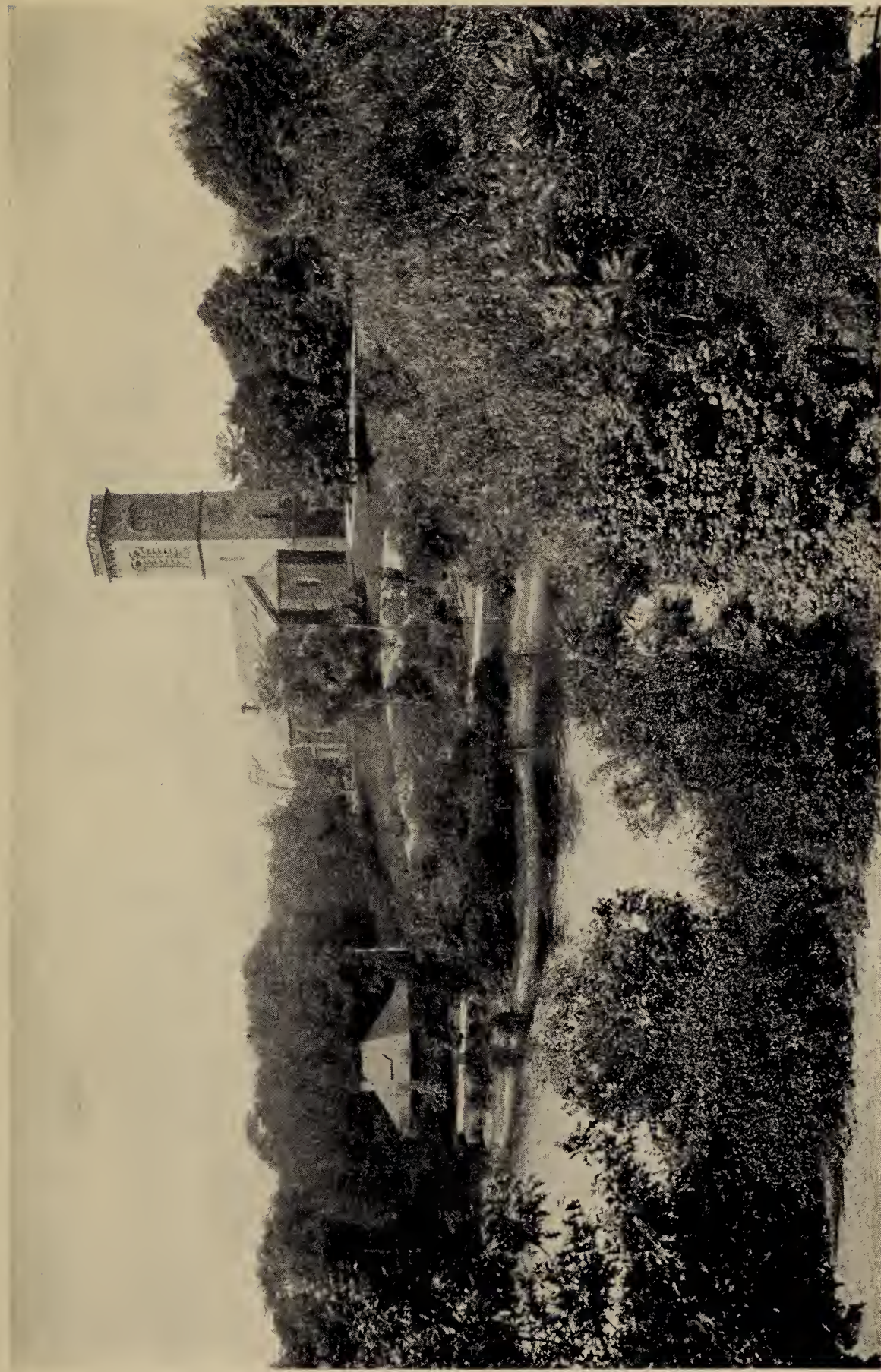
Telegraph lines which had, in the beginning, been adjuncts of the railroads, became consolidated over a long period of years, and blossomed as independent public service corporations. Under very exact regulations as to poles and wires, the American Rapid Telegraph Company was permitted, in 1882, to run its lines through the town.

These wires in a measure, and those of the street-car lines in particular, were soon seen to present a serious threat to the beautiful trees in which the town took such pride. Young trees planted along the central reservation of the widened Beacon Street soon reached the wires above, and there was vigorous agitation for the relocation of the trolley lines, and for the putting of all service wires in conduits. Progress was slow but perceptible.

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

During the decades from 1870 to 1900 Brookline's schools were relegated to minor importance only in a comparative sense. The standards which had been set under the inspiration of Horace Mann were well maintained; but the need for extensive construction had been largely met and was no longer pressing, while the administrative organization had been brought to a point of smooth functioning, and required no elaborate adjustments. Good work was being done, but it lacked the excitement of novelty which had attended the years before the war.

Attendance at school, which had at first been notably hap-



THE PARKWAY WITH SEARS CHAPEL AND LONGWOOD STATION

hazard, and subject to the priority of farm work, was in time recognized as a matter of public concern. Parents were sometimes dominated by other considerations than a desire for the education of their children, and in this new, larger Brookline, individual responsibility could no longer be trusted. Consequently the town adopted, in 1872, a comprehensive group of by-laws relating to truants and absentees. Children between seven and sixteen were required to attend school at least six weeks of the summer term and six weeks of the winter term each year.

Administration of the educational system had come to demand so much attention that, in the same year, employment of a superintendent of schools was authorized. The school committee do not seem to have acted on this, for when the matter was next brought up, it was indefinitely postponed, and nothing more was done about it until 1890.

In 1873 the Harvard Street School was crowded, and the building there as well as the Longwood School, was in need of repairs. It was decided to purchase property at Kent and Francis Streets for a new building, and to remove the old Longwood school house. At the same time the town resolved that 'it would be wise for the School Committee to consider the expediency of securing land for school purposes in the south and west parts of the town without further delay, or in such other places, whether north or east, as they find the need of new schools may soon come.'

A little later there was an appropriation of \$10,000 to erect a building on the Francis Street lot, and the amount was subsequently increased, on the recommendation of the school committee, to \$13,000. This is the site of the present Lawrence School. The subject of playground improvements also came up, but was not immediately pursued to actual results.

In the spring of 1875 the pressure for new school accommodations in the vicinity of Cypress and Sewall Streets led to a report that the town stable could be converted into a school house for \$10,000. No action was taken, however, until four years later, when the town voted \$5000 for a building on Cypress Street next east of the stable, the site of the Sewall School today. This was followed in 1883 by an appropriation of \$22,-

ooo to add two rooms to the Boylston Street School, and erect a two-room school house on Walter Avenue.

These projects were indicative of a demand that grew steadily, if not spectacularly, and came to its climax in 1895 with the building of a new high school at the corner of Tappan and Greenough Streets, at a cost of \$225,000. Manual training had been introduced about 1887, in pursuance of the Brookline way of neglecting no worthy innovation simply because it was new; and by 1893 a \$30,000 manual training school was under way. There were courses in carpentry, wood-turning, pattern-making, and molding; girls might study sewing and domestic science. Apart both from these and the essentially academic subjects were physical instruction, which came to include Swedish gymnastics, military drill, and swimming. An appropriation of \$100,000 was made for playgrounds, though their establishment was slow. Thus the ramifications of education.

Public schools at the close of the century were costing more than \$100,000 a year, and represented the very best in equipment and instruction that the times afforded. But there was one aspect of 'advanced' thought that Brookline voters could not grasp. They had been ready, in 1877, to elect two women among the seven overseers of the poor, but in 1879 they resolutely voted 'That the town do not choose three women to serve on the School Committee.' Why not? It is hard to say, precisely. But the reasoning of that time would have distinguished these two boards, probably along the general line that those who looked after the poor should have the sympathetic understanding and the knowledge of domestic economy that were supposed to be peculiarly feminine qualities, while the administration of schools, and in particular their extensive construction projects, called for the hard-headed business sense which everyone knew women had not. In the centennial year, the town budget allowed \$38,000 for the support of schools, and \$4000 for the support of the poor; and the contrast remains sufficient even when an emergency addition of \$5000 to the poor fund is considered, for school building projects were always the subject of special appropriations. True, the town voted \$10,000 in 1882 for an almshouse, but this instance was without precedent in Brookline.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

The town's receptivity to new ideas meant that a number of progressive programs were commonplaces to Brookline at a time when most of the rest of the country regarded them as dangerously radical proposals. Far-seeing William I. Bowditch moved the annual meeting in 1881 'That the town ask the Legislature to extend to women who are citizens the right to hold office and to vote in town affairs on the same terms as male citizens.' The meeting was not sympathetic.

This proposition found expression also in Benjamin F. Butler's campaign for the governorship in 1882. Among other things, he had advocated a constitutional amendment which would permit women to vote. Butler, of course, was not by any means the Massachusetts pioneer in this field. William Lloyd Garrison had brought it up first, in 1849; Governor Andrew had discussed it in 1865; and it had been recommended by Governor William Claflin in 1871.

But Brookline women gained at least an entering wedge. The records of the annual meeting of 1882 state that, in the voting, 'the check list was used, and a separate list for the women who were entitled to vote for School Committee...' This was under authority of a law passed in 1878, which conferred the restricted privilege, and provided for the registration of women for this particular purpose under the same terms which applied to men. The town, at this same meeting, voted to postpone indefinitely the question of deciding whether to ask the legislature 'to extend to women who are citizens the right to hold town offices and to vote in town affairs on the same terms as male citizens.' The men were not ready to make the desired concession, but, as in other cases where an outspoken refusal might give offense or require embarrassing explanation, they simply sidestepped the entire question. A year later, the same harmless ritual was gone through again.

EXPEDITING TOWN AFFAIRS

Town government remained, for the time being at least, in the hands of men. It was an expensive but altogether well-managed government, despite the fact that it drew some vigorous minority criticism at times. There were those who said

that the \$180,000 spent for the new Town Hall which Robert C. Winthrop so eloquently dedicated on Washington's Birthday in 1873, should have purchased a more useful structure. For one thing, it was thought to be far from perfect acoustically; and for another, the accommodations for town business offices were called inadequate.

However, the town's affairs seem to have got along pretty satisfactorily. New devices were adopted for expediting things. An elaborate by-law covering official reports was adopted at the annual meeting in 1874. As, at an earlier period, the clumsy operation of the town meeting as a committee of the whole had been replaced by the appointment of special committees on almost every subject requiring special information for intelligent voting, so now the long reports which had at first been read to the assembled meeting, were, in increasing numbers, printed and distributed among the inhabitants with the copies of the warrant calling the meeting where those reports were to be passed upon. This afforded ample opportunity for everyone to familiarize himself with the business in hand, and a vote could usually be had without long explanation and debate.

Salaries of town officials were extremely moderate. Subject to occasional slight changes, they amounted to \$750 for selectmen, \$750 to \$1000 for assessors, \$1000 for the town clerk, \$1200 for the librarian, and \$2500 for the town treasurer and tax collector, who had an exacting, responsible, full-time task. Benjamin F. Baker had received, at March meeting in 1852, the bare 45 votes out of a total of 88 necessary to his election as town clerk. He held that office, year after year, by increasing majorities which his modesty seems to have forbade him to record, and at length became the perennial, unanimous choice of the town, until his death in 1898. This long service bade fair to establish a dynasty, and he was succeeded by his son, Edward Wild Baker, who gave three decades of devotion to the town in that office.

Attendance at town meetings varied, of course, with the measure of interest commanded by the subjects under discussion. Thus, at the annual meeting in 1875, there were 503 votes cast for moderator, and Charles H. Drew was chosen by the not over-large majority of 273. At the annual meeting five

years later, William I. Bowditch had fifteen of the sixteen votes cast for moderator.

VEXED PROBLEMS

Occasionally there arose some subject of general interest which could not be dealt with satisfactorily. The problem of a Civil War memorial was very puzzling. In the spring of 1874 a committee was appointed to investigate the cost of a suitable memorial. They reported that neighboring towns had not made out very well with statues and mounted cannon and the like, and they therefore advocated 'an architectural structure, which they believed would be in better keeping with the subject, because free from party or military basis, and calculated to commend itself to the general observer, as well as those of more cultivated taste.' Something adequate of granite could be built, it was thought, for about \$18,000.

The committee was told to think some more, and report what might be done in the way of tablets in the Town Hall. A few weeks later they said they had no money for expenses in that direction, that they did not like the tablet idea anyway, and that surviving soldiers and sailors regarded it with 'unanimous disfavor.' The report was accepted and tabled. Then a new committee was named, with four of the same members, to start all over again.

In a fortnight they were back with majority and minority reports, both of which were accepted. A motion to adopt the minority recommendations was passed, after it had been amended to refer to the majority recommendations instead. At the next meeting, it was voted to erect the monument on the playground lot on Cypress Street, and a fresh committee were told to report on plans and costs.

Three months later, when the question of appropriating \$25,000 came up, the situation was confused anew by a vote 'That the Soldiers' Monument Committee be instructed to procure plans and estimates for a memorial front for a high school house to be erected by the town, and submit them to the town at a future meeting; and that they also be instructed to procure plans for a statue in marble or bronze, and report the same with estimates of cost to the town.' Three months still

later, the committee was enlarged, and allowed five hundred dollars for expenses. Again majority and minority reports were evolved, both were accepted, and the committee was discharged in January, 1876. There had been plenty of ado, but nothing accomplished — and nothing substantial *was* accomplished until the present monument was erected shortly before the World War.

Another project which was come at somewhat haltingly was the public bath. A state law of 1874 permitted towns to indulge this luxury, but Brookline declined, in 1880, to accept the statute. The town would, however, ask the selectmen to give the matter a public hearing. Evidently some interest was shown, for three years later the statute was unanimously accepted, and an appropriation of \$3000 made for 'one or more public bath-houses.' These first public baths were mere open places in the brook behind the old Boylston School. Thirteen years later the town decided to go in for \$40,000 worth of public bath-house, not counting the cost of the land on Tappan Street, for which they got two tanks, some fifty dressing-rooms, a running-track, tubs, 'rain baths,' and a small laundry, along with plenty of classical references on the walls. This was the result, in the main, of the efforts of Dr. H. Lincoln Chase, then agent of the Board of Health.

If debate was occasionally acrimonious, it was almost always pertinent and instructive. Everyone realized the importance of a clear understanding of any given problem before it could be intelligently solved. But even very capable men did not always agree on what was wise.

Dr. Carleton S. Francis has said that the town meetings during the last third of the nineteenth century were always interesting.

Mr. William Aspinwall and Mr. William I. Bowditch never failed to take a prominent part in the discussion and always took the opposite sides of each question. When they really got going in good form the fur would fly. Mr. Bowditch explained the difference between their individual characters in this way, 'I am firm but Mr. Aspinwall is damned pig-headed.' Mr. Alfred Chandler, Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, and other townspeople usually took part in these heated debates.

SOME LEADING CITIZENS

Mr. Chandler carried on the family tradition in the law, with a special interest in the administrative and economic problems of government. He was, perhaps more than any other individual, responsible for Brookline's espousal of the public improvements which marked the last three decades of the century. Service as chairman of four town boards is only a partial measure of his personal contribution to the community. Outstanding among his achievements was the development of the plan for a limited town meeting.

Inheritor of a farm where he first managed a nursery business, but which he later made the basis of a real estate enterprise, Charles H. Stearns eventually engaged in banking. In 1892 he was elected an assessor, an office which he filled continuously for nearly forty years.

Other citizens who played exceptional parts in putting forward the town's affairs included: John C. Abbott, who served on numerous committees and was a commissioner of the sinking fund; Robert Amory, active as a member of the school committee and board of health, and as a library trustee; William Aspinwall, as selectman, moderator, and committeeman; Austin W. Benton, for many years a selectman; William I. Bowditch, who concerned himself with nearly everything that concerned the town; Rufus G. F. Candage, a selectman, moderator, and representative to the General Court; John W. Candler, who not only went to the General Court but to Congress; Charles H. Drew, a perennial moderator and selectman, and long chairman of the library trustees; James W. Edgerly, repeatedly a selectman; Charles D. Head, another perennial selectman, and treasurer of the library board; Horace James, many years a selectman; and Francis W. Lawrence, in the same category; William H. Lincoln, for many years an assessor, and later chairman of the school committee, in whose honor the Lincoln School was named; Colonel Theodore Lyman, a representative to the General Court and to Congress, known for his efforts toward the improvement of the civil service; Thomas Parsons, many times a selectman, first chairman of the library board, and active on numerous committees; Oliver Whyte, still another perpetual selectman; and Eben W. Reed, who for

many years served in the triple capacities of constable, field driver, and pound keeper.

These are only the men whose tenure of public office seems remarkable. Their public service was such that the town called on them again and again, drawing freely on their large abilities, and compensating them mainly in the esteem of their fellow citizens and the satisfaction of community service well performed. Other individuals, no less able, avoided political life, but lent wise counsel, professional guidance, and personal distinction to the town, and exerted powerful influence in favor of progressive movements.

There was Augustus Lowell, who graduated from Harvard in 1850, traveled in Europe, and embarked on a commercial career concerned primarily with cotton manufacture and the East India trade. In the late 'sixties he established a home in Brookline, and for more than thirty years devoted himself to a wide variety of industries, philanthropies, and public services. His influence was felt in town affairs, for on the rare occasions when he was induced to interest himself in some public matter, there was immediate action. Among his seven children were Abbott Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard University, Amy Lowell, known for her poetry, Percival Lowell, the astronomer, and Guy Lowell, a distinguished architect.

Theodore Lyman was the son of the Theodore Lyman who had been mayor of Boston at the time of the Garrison mob, in 1835, and had been charged with libel by Daniel Webster in the course of a political controversy. His son came markedly under the influence of Louis Agassiz during his undergraduate years at Harvard, and exhibited a lifelong interest in scientific matters — particularly as they concerned fish. As a young man, he had taken part in an expedition to Florida in which Agassiz was interested, and met Captain George S. Meade of the topographical engineers, who was then superintending the erection of lighthouses on the Florida reefs. When Meade later became Major General commanding the Army of the Potomac, in 1863, Lyman was made a lieutenant-colonel on Governor Andrew's staff, and then assigned to special duty at Meade's headquarters, where he acted as a personal aide, though he was never in the United States service. Mr. Lyman gave



ESTATE OF THEODORE LYMAN, HEATH STREET

The house was built in 1844

much attention to charitable, penal, and educational institutions; in recognition of his work, the reform school at Westborough was renamed the Lyman School for Boys. He became an overseer of Harvard, and played a part in the choice of his cousin and intimate personal friend, Charles W. Eliot, as president. A vigorous opponent of Wendell Phillips and of General Benjamin F. Butler, he served one term in Congress as a Democrat, but was defeated for re-election.

William Leverett Chase afforded another example of commercial leadership and varied personal talents. He graduated from Harvard in 1876 and went immediately into business. He was alike merchant, manufacturer and banker, and in each position was thoughtful, clear-headed, far-seeing and sagacious, and in all warm-hearted and sympathetic, according to his memorialist, ever willing to lend his helping hand and kindly voice to assist his fellow-worker, whether a brother merchant or a factory operative. He entered the factory or bank with a sagacity as keen as his heart was kind; and he could leave them with equal grace and power for the art gallery, music room, or the muster field. Henry M. Rogers said of him that he was the youngest ex-president of the renowned Papyrus Club, and the best beloved. His title of colonel was derived from appointment on the governor's staff, and he went frequently to England to witness military maneuvers, where his expert knowledge on many points appeared to be appreciated.

Amateurs of art and science were many among the eminent of Brookline, but there were others who won high professional standing. Henry Hobson Richardson was the great architect of the brownstone period, an exponent of the Romanesque style so widely used in the libraries and other public buildings of New England. The Brattle Street Church and Trinity Church in Boston were designed by him, along with numerous public buildings throughout the east and many of the Boston & Albany railroad stations.

Samuel Colman, Brookline landscape artist, was the founder and first president of the American Society of Painters in Water Color. George Makepeace Towle, long a trustee of the Brookline Library, had served as United States consul at Nantes and at Bradford before he settled down to political and historical

studies and writing. Eliakim Littell, founder of *Littell's Living Age*, was perhaps the first editor to discover that a magazine could be entirely produced with no other tools than scissors and paste.

In the field of science there are at least two pre-eminent names, Sargent and Channing. Charles Sprague Sargent, son of a banker and railroad director, graduated from Harvard in 1862 and went into military service. After the war he returned to studies in the natural sciences which had fascinated him, and rose to great distinction in the fields of botany and dendrology. He became director of the Botanic Garden of Harvard University, director of the Arnold Arboretum, and professor of arboriculture — a man veritably at the head of a profession which he honored for half a century.

Walter Channing studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard Medical School, and devoted himself primarily to the study of mental diseases, a field in which he had the widest opportunities and won recognition as a great leader.

It is hardly possible to estimate the influence on the town of such citizens, whose authoritative judgment, immediately available, on matters of public importance which came within their respective fields, assured Brookline such wise guidance in so many directions. On a question of parks and planting, there could be no more valuable opinions than those of Olmsted or Sargent. When the town was puzzling over the difficulties of securing a water supply, or even when the question was no more vexatious than that of replacing a bridge, it was the usual thing to put Edward S. Philbrick on the committee, which thus obtained without cost the advice of an engineer of the first rank. And so in other fields. Those leaders of the community who were animated by the spirit of progress were sound-minded men, convinced of the importance of acting only on the basis of thorough study and investigation. When they sought able opinions, it was seldom necessary to go beyond the town limits, for Brookline's charms had attracted eminent men in nearly every line.



THE CHARLES SPRAGUE SARGENT ESTATE

THE JUST PRIDE OF BROOKLINE

There resulted a type of administration that excelled in nearly every direction, and if there were those disposed to regard this as the expensive era of the town's history, there was one leading authority on local government who stood ready to argue its economy. A significant paragraph by Alfred D. Chandler is worth quoting here, as a summary of the economic picture near the close of the century: ¹

It is an interesting fact that the average rate of taxation in Brookline during the past ten years, the period of its most extraordinary growth and boldest improvements, is less than for the preceding ten years. The average rate from 1882 to 1892 was \$10.87 per \$1000. The average rate from 1872 to 1882 was \$12.01 per \$1000. The town debt has increased during the past ten years 43 1/2 per cent; while the town valuation in the same period has increased 113 3/5 per cent. Of course, with the town's growth, come added expenses and demands each year. But Brookline has recognized the fact that the town will grow whether it is encouraged so to do or not, and that as between a large population ill prepared to meet modern municipal wants, and a population and surroundings which are strong and attractive, the latter are preferable. To meet the growing demands of such a town, new capital must be brought in and such inducements offered as will attract and retain persons having capital. A higher rate of taxation and a less efficient government would follow a diminution of public income; hence the town aims to draw within its limits strong and active classes.

In this would seem to be a kind of diagram of the vicious circle with its vice removed: like begetting like, and parent and progeny representing, more and more, just what an ideal town would wish to be.

Brookline was, with abundant reason, a proud town. Its people took pride in its natural beauty, in its municipal achievements, and in its public services from the new waterworks down to the horse-car line. In this connection it may be interesting to read a reminiscent letter written in the summer of 1932 by a pioneer and gold prospector of the old west, John Charles

¹ From 'Brookline, A Study in Town Government,' in *New England Magazine*, August 1893, p. 794.

Fremont McGriff, who remembers Brookline in the early eighties:

I had heard about this Brookline horse car line from my partner, who was born in Nantucket, I believe. At the time we were there, his mother and sister lived in Brookline, so we frequently went out to visit them by this line that the citizens were so proud of. Well, if they were, they had a right to be, for it was a splendid outfit, from trackage to cars, horses, harness, and in fact all equipment. The horses were the main feature, all matched bays. It was said that the stablemen could turn them all out in a lot, go and pick out any two, and they'd be a well matched pair. They were always up on the bits and ready to go, for no lame or sore-footed ones were ever hooked up. These horses were all trained to slow up when the driver gave them the word-and-line 'tip' to take on and let off passengers, and to go without a whip when they got the word. It was said that the management took pride in the claim that their company did not own any whips. They depended on first-class stock and plenty of good oats. The horses, their harness, and the cars were all clean and shining, and this was supposed to be the outstanding car line of the United States.

The town's social diversions were for the most part gracious and simple. Chamber music was a frequent form of entertainment in many homes of wealth. Parties and balls were never casual affairs. Winter horse-racing on Washington Street began annually after the first snow, and accounted for a large share of *The Chronicle's* local news items. Boys who enjoyed boating on Jamaica Pond in summer had abundant hills for winter coasting, and in time toboggan slides were built. A local paper recorded an incident at the opening of the first of these, when a town official who had been active in having it built was given the honor of taking the first coast. It seems that he got under way before his wife, who was expected to accompany him, had quite gained her seat. The printed report stated that he coasted down on the toboggan, while she 'slid down on her own responsibility.'

One wishes that people were as ready to leave record of their social experiences and intellectual adventures, as of their political proceedings. Sometimes it seems more instructive to

know what they did with their leisure than how they put in their working hours.

The Chronicle did tell of 'one of our society young ladies' who wrote friends in New York 'that she had so far violated her conscience as to go to see Booth during Lent, and that the most alarming feature of it was, that she was afraid that she was glad that she went!' The story is probably somewhat apocryphal, but a New York correspondent is supposed to have commented:

Sorely tempted, she went
To see Booth during Lent;
And now she is shocked
That she's glad that she went.

But this was, after all, a serious period of Brookline's history. The town was all but swallowed up by Boston, and escaped only after ten years' vigorous struggle. Then it embarked on an astounding career of expansion and modernization. Perhaps its citizens were, in fact, pretty thoroughly taken up with the work which made Brookline what it was at the turn of the century.

CHAPTER XII

THE HERITAGE OF THREE CENTURIES

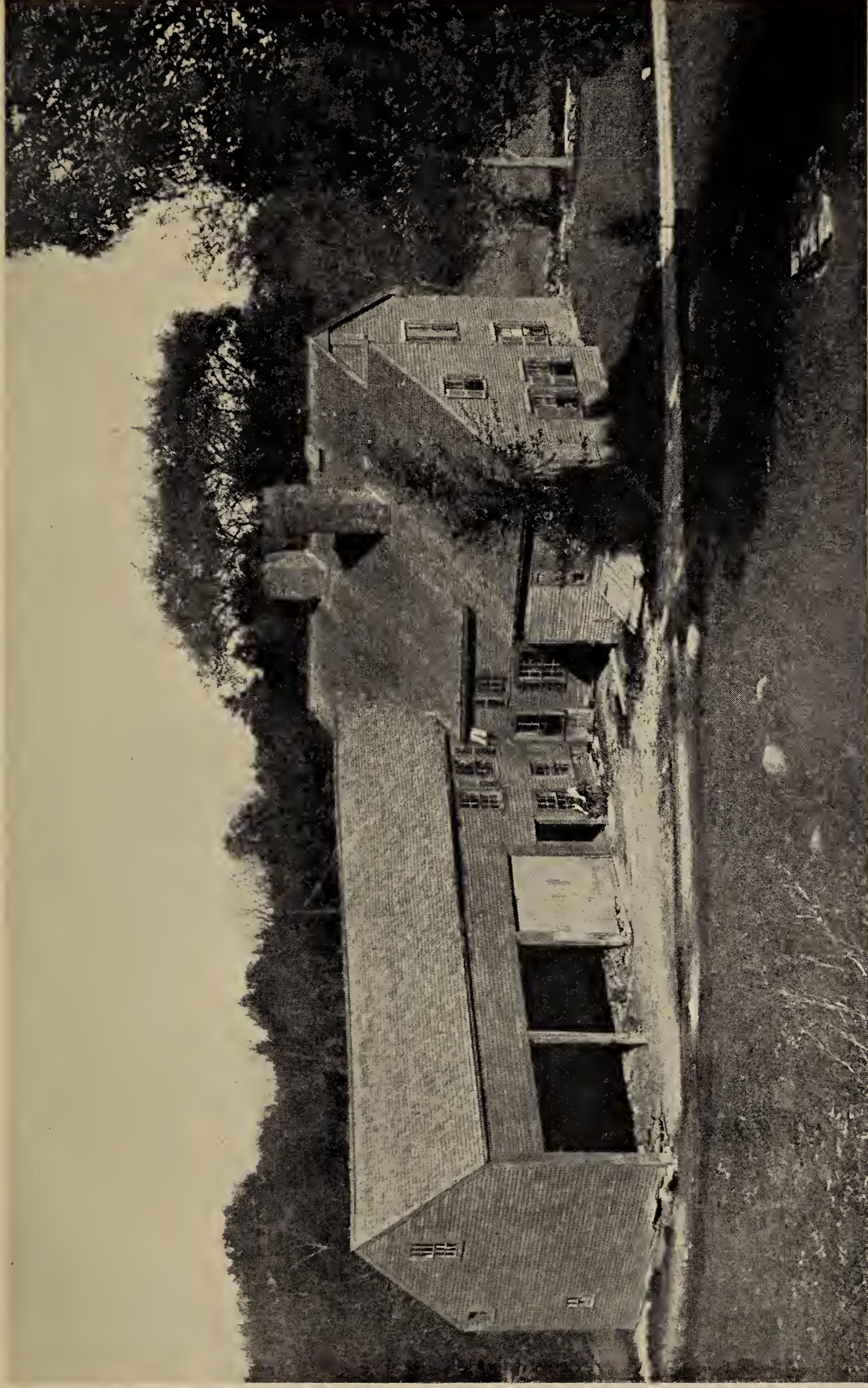
THE NEW POPULATION

THE modern generation has seen changes which threaten the character, and even the identity, of Brookline. What Boston could not accomplish politically in the 'seventies has, in large measure, come about physically in the last thirty years. Mere extension of the city limits so as to surround the town is not accountable for the substantial change that has taken place, but the growth of Boston as a center of population explains a great deal.

In 1630 Muddy River was the most convenient pasture land accessible to the peninsula. In 1730 Brookline was the nearest farming community. By 1830 it was becoming the favorite resort of Boston merchants who sought country homes near-by. Now it has been invaded by the builders of the vast apartment structures which alone make possible the modern concentration of human life in limited areas.

Of course there are relics of what once was, particularly in the still rural southwestern part of the town. But broadly speaking, Brookline is within the city, and like the city, but not of the city.

Apartment dwellers who come home only to sleep may, it is true, be worthy citizens, but their interest in the community where they live is not the interest of the man who has a stake in the land. Even in the 'eighties *The Chronicle* published an article on 'Brookline as a Bedroom.' There are substantial names in Brookline still, and fine old estates, but the population now is preponderantly of those who cannot possibly have the town's affairs at heart as did most inhabitants a century, or even fifty years ago. Furthermore, it is a population which, by sheer numbers, has compelled a modification of the time-honored town meeting system, by the sacrifice of its most intimate feature — the direct voting of the individual citizen on every subject of community interest. Yet so much has been retained



DRUCE-CRAFT HOUSE ON THE DENNY FARM, NEWTON STREET
Built 1660-70; taken down in 1902. Site opposite Golf Club

of what has been cherished, that it is doubtful if the people of Brookline today would be more ready to merge their town with the surrounding city, than were their grandfathers sixty years ago. Indeed, in 1919, the selectmen were instructed by a vote of 193 to 1, to oppose annexation to Boston.

CITY PROBLEMS

The twenty-year period ending in 1903 saw already upon the town the clear mark of the changes which were to characterize the new century. Population had increased, it was estimated, from 9270 to 25,000; and dwellings in about the same proportion, from 1280 to 3515, many of which were apartments or family hotels. Real estate values, under the influence of new building and the enhanced worth of the land where they stood, rose from about \$15,000,000 to \$60,000,000; while personal property increased from more than \$16,000,000 to over \$27,000,000, on a scale a trifle less than that of the population growth. Willy-nilly, Brookline was becoming citified.

One by one many of the gracious residences of a more expansive day were replaced, some of them pulled down deliberately, some destroyed by fire. The old house on the Denny farm on Newton Street, which Vincent Druce had built, probably between 1660 and 1670, and which had later come into the Craft family, was taken down where it stood in 1902. This was also the fate of the house built about 1715 by Deacon Samuel Clark on Walnut Street, then the Sherburne road. And the old Aspinwall home on Aspinwall Hill lacked only three years of a century when it came down in 1900. With the disappearance of these and other substantial homes, less old, it was already being said: 'In a score of years past, brick blocks, apartment houses, family hotels, and modern dwellings have been built, and present a striking contrast to the modest houses of the past, surrounded with trees and ample grounds and have robbed the town of its old-time rural appearance and beauty.'

In January, 1907, Rufus G. F. Candage, speaking of a number of matters of current history at the annual meeting of the Brookline Historical Society, explained:

Brookline being a nearby suburb of Boston, in the line of that city's overflow of population, within easy and convenient distance by steam and trolley, its fine streets, sidewalks, schools, water, police, town government, and low rates of taxation, all have contributed to the changes we have been considering. And though the old residents may lament that the town has lost its former rural charm; that apartments and apartment hotels have robbed it of its former desirability as a place of residence; that its population is not what it used to be — the changes have come and are to march on until its streets in the future will be faced with continuous blocks of buildings, become metropolitan in character and indistinguishable from the neighboring city in external appearance, even if it preserves its municipal independence, as most good citizens of the present hope it may. Regret such changes as one may, it seems inevitable for them to occur, and all must bow and accept them with grace, the current being too strong to be stemmed or turned aside.

COOLIDGE CORNER

The influx of population was largely concentrated in the northern part of the town, particularly along Beacon Street and in the vicinity of Coolidge Corner. Commercial development began there in 1857 when the Coolidges built a store, the site of which was later occupied by the S. S. Pierce Company. Previously the business section of the town had been confined to the Village section — the area along Washington Street and the beginning of Boylston Street. In 1912, the Whitney estate at Coolidge Corner was sacrificed to a block of stores and offices. That same year, Boylston Street, the old Worcester Turnpike, was widened to accommodate increasing traffic.

Construction continued, however, in the northern and western sections. The year 1913 saw the erection of 191 buildings, including a number of apartment houses in the vicinity of Coolidge Corner. Of these Charles H. Stearns said, 'To the older and more conservative citizen these buildings are interlopers, in some instances destroying old and perhaps venerated houses to permit of their erection.... Indeed, Brookline is fast losing its suburban character and becoming urban, a fact

which, though one may lament to see, must be inevitable considering the rapid growth of our big neighbor.'

By 1915 the invasion of the automobile business had got under way; and in addition to the clustering of stores around Coolidge Corner, others were spreading out from the Village along Washington and Harvard Streets. The widening of Brighton Avenue, which became Commonwealth Avenue, and the introduction of trolley service, operated to develop the section of Brookline on the southerly side of that thoroughfare. Apartments and garages sprang up to cover the green meadows. Fine estates were subdivided by real estate promoters.

In 1919 an important change took place at Coolidge Corner, when Ernest B. Dane purchased a substantial residence property and commenced erection of the splendid modern building of the Brookline Trust Company. Construction, temporarily suspended during the war, went forward with renewed vigor as shown in the expenditure of over \$3,000,000 for twenty apartment houses, forty single dwellings, and over a hundred garages, some of them large business structures. In 1920, some \$2,500,000 was spent for 128 buildings, and in 1921, about \$3,500,000 on 229 construction projects, more than half of them garages. But modernization received one set-back; Miss Julia Goddard's beautiful old home, Green Hill, came into the hands of an owner who was careful to restore and preserve much of its original charm.

MEASURES OF VALUE

Building permits for 1922 covered 72 stores, of which the town already had a surplus, 168 houses and apartment buildings, 157 private and 17 public garages. An 800-room apartment hotel near Longwood station was assured. The Brookline Savings Bank occupied its new quarters.

Perhaps the most tangible evidence of the growth and prosperity of a community is to be found in the record of its property valuation, its tax rate and its expenditures for municipal purposes. In Brookline all of these items have followed an almost steadily mounting curve. Thus, in 1900, property of a total value of about \$78,000,000 was taxed at the rate of \$10.20 per \$1000; in 1910 the rate was \$12.50 on more than

\$108,000,000. During the war years there was some diminution in the total assessments, but in 1920 a tax of \$17.30 was laid against property assessed at well over \$103,000,000, and in 1930 the rate was \$19.90 on more than \$170,000,000.

Taken at ten-year intervals the municipal expenditures have mounted substantially. Thus, in 1900, they were about one and three quarters million dollars; in 1910 over two million; in 1920 in excess of three million, and in 1930 more than five and one half million. Furthermore, this increase in expenditure has been accompanied by an increase in municipal debt, which for the first twenty years of the century was held close to one and one half million dollars, but within recent years has reached a million dollars additional.

These years of phenomenal growth at length brought the belated protection of a zoning law, defining the sections of the town restricted to dwelling houses, and those in which apartments and business structures might be built. It was a law which in part reflected the resentment against the intrusion of unsightly stores in what were properly residential sections, and of course much of the damage which it sought to prevent had to occur before the law was demanded.

Evidently the full import of the threat of unrestricted building was not felt until 1913, when for the first time a town planning board began to be active. Its chairman was Frederick Law Olmsted, for Brookline continued to adhere to its time-honored custom of putting heavy municipal responsibility upon citizens of outstanding professional reputation. In its second report, published in 1915, the planning board included a score of illustrations from photographs taken in various parts of Brookline to emphasize the evils which must result from the unrestricted use of land by owners eager for profit. Apartment houses were being constructed as close as possible to the curb line and even where, on older residential streets, houses had originally been built with generous set-backs, stores were in some instances being obtruded between the old building line and the boundary of the property. It was pointed out that in some instances this policy was certain in time to be very expensive for the town because secondary thoroughfares such as St. Paul Street and Aspinwall Avenue must eventually need



COOLIDGE CORNER IN 1887, LOOKING NORTH UP HARVARD STREET
The Coolidge Brothers' store in center was on site of the S. S. Pierce building

widening, and if buildings were constructed so close to the curb line that they must be destroyed, the expense might be prohibitive. This the board thought might all be prevented by the taking of adequate precautions.

Under the guidance of the planning board a policy with regard to building lines was evolved, by which set-backs varying from five to twenty feet were specified for certain named streets. Subsequently, the business of planning was carried out much more elaborately with the establishment of zones within which the size and use of buildings were restricted in very exact terms. This law, subject to successive amendments, as circumstances seemed to require, has been the means of protecting purely residential sections of the town from commercial intruders and of preventing the selfish use of property by landowners without æsthetic consideration for the immediate neighborhood.

This protection of course was not achieved in time to prevent all of the evils against which it was designed. Some harm had already been done and could not well be undone, but the policy of the town has been reduced to a code and a sufficient term of conformity to that code should make manifest in orderly fashion the far-sightedness of the distinguished board responsible for formulating it.

OVERSIZE TOWN MEETINGS

So impressive a change in population made inevitable a change in the system of town government. Census figures reported nearly 20,000 residents of Brookline in 1900; but there were almost 28,000 in 1910, 38,000 in 1920, and over 47,000 in 1930. Even without the extension of the suffrage to women, such a population must have resulted in an unwieldy town meeting.

Naturally, the meetings were attended only by a part of the voters, and often not a very large part unless matters of exceptional interest were under discussion. Furthermore, the efficiency of the meeting had been enhanced in various ways, so that less and less time was consumed by its deliberations. Despite the fact that the town's business had increased enormously, there were actually less than half as many meetings

per year at the close of the nineteenth century, as at its beginning. Business was expedited by the regular appointment of the Committee of Thirty to report on the articles in the warrant; and this device for informing the meeting as a whole made prompt and intelligent voting easy.

Townsmen were not in any way bound by the report of the committee, but merely aided. Individual participation in the affairs of local government remained what it had always been. But as attendance grew, along with population, it transpired that the meetings were sometimes packed, especially when large appropriations were in the balance, by visitors from 'just across the line' who came to add their voices to the affirmative chorus. To obviate this, the town voted in 1901 to accept the General Court's 'Act relative to town meetings in the town of Brookline.' This provided for the use of a check list at the door for every town meeting, or an alternative of registering turnstiles. It further required that certain votes should, upon petition, be submitted for ratification at a subsequent town meeting, and prescribed processes to be followed.

But such a measure was at best a makeshift. There was increasing discussion of the possibility of a 'limited' town meeting, a system agitated for Boston as early as 1815, and strongly recommended for Brookline by Alfred D. Chandler in 1897. His idea was to divide the town into five wards and choose sixty men from each to make up the town meeting. This scheme gained little headway, however, and the first trial of such a method was made in June, 1906, by the city of Newport, Rhode Island.

Meanwhile Mr. Chandler had been making vigorous efforts to promote a plan which he believed essential to the good government of the town that Brookline had become. In an address at Hyde Park in January, 1904, he said:

To the usual assumption that Brookline is a homogeneous community peculiar to itself, controlled by an educated plutocracy, is exempt from administrative trials, and is exposed to no labor questions and to no disturbing *isms*, so that its example offers little cheer to other municipalities, it should be said: That such views are far from sound, because the real situation in Brookline, emphasized more and

more each year, offers a stimulating precedent, its population being decidedly mixed, with a large 'laboring' element, and its aggregate wealth being controlled for the purposes of taxation, rather by the average man, by the poll-tax payers and small property-owners, than by a few plutocrats or by men of exceptional talents.

The speaker pointed out that the elasticity of the town form of government had permitted Brookline to develop systematic methods, improved accounting, and such a supervision as enabled the town to keep abreast of the times. He emphasized again that during the half-century preceding the influx of population, the enforced as well as voluntary subdivision of estates, had made the town quite different in its political complexion from what was commonly supposed.

Mr. Chandler cited statistics for 1902 which showed that the ten largest taxpayers in Brookline paid only a little over seven per cent of the taxes, the town ranking fourteenth in Massachusetts in that respect. For the same year the largest tax contribution of any one family or estate ran as high as thirty-seven per cent of the total tax in Dover and Wenham, and sixty-two per cent in Lancaster, while in Brookline it was only a little over two per cent. Thus the supposition of the dominance of great wealth was disproved.

A REMEDY PROPOSED

By a careful restriction of the town meetings to legal voters, Mr. Chandler argued, much disorder had been avoided of the kind which Governor Hutchinson described when he wrote in 1770 of the Boston town meetings, that although there were not 1500 legal voters in the town, there might be 3000 or 4000 in attendance. 'It is, in other words,' he said, 'being under the government of the mob. This has given the lower part of the people such a sense of their importance that a gentleman does not meet with what used to be common civility, and we are sinking into perfect barbarism.'

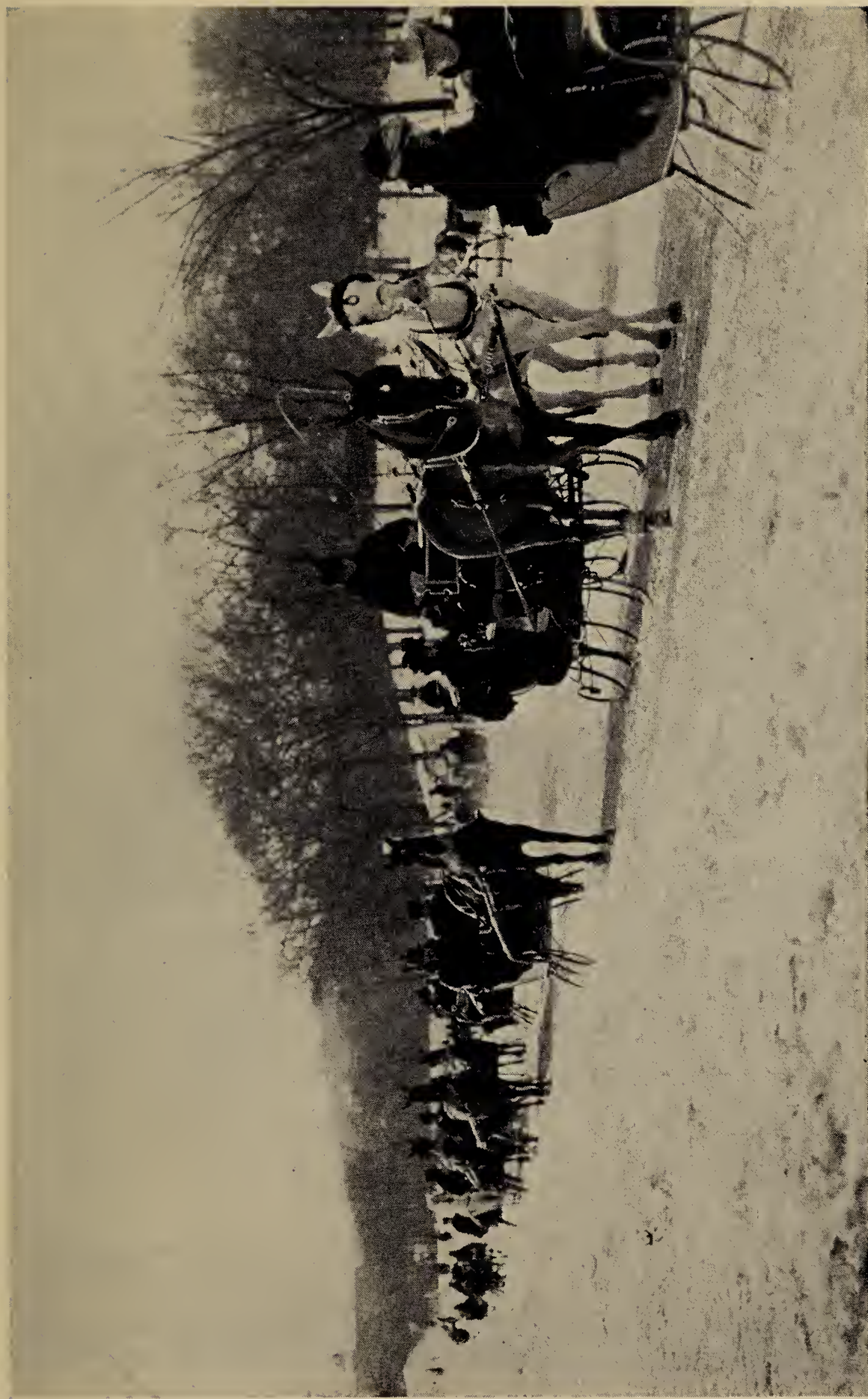
Some such consequence Mr. Chandler believed he foresaw, if precautionary measures were not taken. He insisted that the fact 'that Brookline, or any other very large town — Boston, for instance, up to 1822, with 43,000 inhabitants — has not

been seriously injured under the present happy-go-lucky unlimited town meeting system, is a matter of congratulation; but it is no justification for further delay to provide appropriate legislation in Massachusetts to guard against the inevitable.'

This exhaustive speech was in support of a proposed bill which provided for the division of towns having over 12,000 people into five or ten precincts, from each of which twenty-four voters were to be chosen as delegates or town meeting members, one third to serve for one year, one third for two years, and one third for three years; eight voters to be chosen from each precinct annually thereafter.

Another argument in favor of the limited, or representative town meeting was the increased sense of responsibility which, it was believed, would attend the representatives. This was based, said Arthur Lord, reviewing the situation in 1918 as president of the Massachusetts Bar Association, 'on the consideration that when the subject of the meeting was not generally exciting, there were likely to be not more than 30 or 40 inhabitants [at a Boston town meeting], who appeared because of personal interests or from a sense of official duty. This small group would act for the town as a whole, often with little discrimination in the acceptance of committee reports and the transaction of ordinary business. If the subject was an exciting one, Faneuil Hall would be jammed; only those who obtained places near the moderator could even hear the discussion, and the meeting was easily controlled by a few interested individuals.' Brookline, to a degree, presented a parallel.

'The more one studies the conditions of the present and the needs of the immediate future,' Mr. Lord continued, 'the stronger becomes the conviction that in these populous towns the permanence and security of town government can alone be maintained by the adoption of that form of deliberative government which I have here called the "representative" town meeting.'



A WINTER SCENE IN THE GAY NINETIES

Beacon Street near Amory estate, looking west toward Coolidge Corner

LEGAL VIEWS

Such reasoning proved persuasive, and a bill was prepared for introduction in the General Court to provide the so-called representative meeting in Massachusetts towns. When the state senate asked the opinion of the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court on the constitutionality of such a law, the answer was phrased in part in these words:

The questions and the accompanying bill relate to the power of the General Court under the Constitution to enact a general statute abolishing the town meeting form of government and substituting for it a qualified kind of municipal meeting wherein the power to vote shall be exercised alone by certain representative voters consisting of a percentage of the total number, chosen by their fellows from precincts into which the town is to be divided, such statute to take effect automatically in any town when accepted by the affirmative votes of a majority of the voters at a duly warned town meeting....

Each qualified inhabitant of the town has an indisputable right to vote upon every question presented, as well as to discuss it, or there is no town meeting. This is universally understood as the vital feature of the town system of government as practised in this Commonwealth continuously from a time long before the Declaration of Independence until the present. This form of local government was the fibre of our institutions when the Constitution was adopted. It is implied whenever the word 'town' is used in that instrument.

The fundamental and real distinction between the town and the city organization is that in the former all the qualified inhabitants meet together to deliberate and vote as individuals, each in his own right, while in the latter all municipal functions are performed by deputies. The one is direct; the other is representative.

The court went on to say that the proposed bill was not limited to towns of 12,000 inhabitants or more, as provided by the Second Amendment to the State Constitution, but might by its terms be applied to the smallest communities. Further, a representative government of this kind could not be established by a general law, but only by a special act passed at the request of the town concerned. The court, therefore, ad-

vised that the legislature had not the power to pass such a general law, and that if enacted it would not be constitutional.

It was obvious, then, that Brookline's needs could be met only by a statute specifically directed to them, and the legislature accordingly passed an act 'to provide for precinct voting, Limited Town Meetings, town meeting members, a referendum, and an annual moderator in the town of Brookline,' and at the general election of November 2, 1915, the new proposal was accepted by a very large majority.

THE LIMITED TOWN MEETING

There were to be not less than twelve precincts (although the number eventually settled upon was nine), from each of which registered voters were to choose twenty-seven town meeting members, nominations to be made by petitions signed by not less than thirty voters from the precincts in which the candidates resided. In addition, certain town officers were designated as 'town meeting members at large,' and these, with the elected members, were to form the town meeting.

This group, says Sly,¹ was to exercise all powers invested in the municipal corporation. Half of the membership was necessary for a quorum, all meetings were to be held with open doors, and subject to such conditions as the members might prescribe, any registered voter might speak but not vote. The meeting could not bind the town in anything affecting its existence or the form of its government without action by the voters of the town at large.

Affirmative votes on special appropriations exceeding \$25,000 did not go into effect until five days from the dissolution of the meeting at which the vote was taken. If within that period a petition signed by twenty registered voters from each precinct were filed with the selectmen, asking that the question be submitted to the voters of the town, then within fourteen days the selectmen or the moderator must submit the question within the several precincts, and a majority of those voting must favor the action if it were to be sustained.

This was, apparently, the only acceptable solution of a

¹ *Town Government in Massachusetts, 1620-1930*, by John Fairfield Sly; Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1930.

problem that could not be 'tabled' indefinitely. In the consensus of opinion, it has been a satisfactory solution. Election as a town meeting member confers a measure of honor and imposes a measure of responsibility. Members are accountable to the town, and generally eager to justify the trust. There are enough of them so that control is not easy, while thorough and thoughtful discussion is possible.

At the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Bar Association in 1918, when Alfred D. Chandler took part in the discussion of this subject, he asserted that

In Brookline with its 36,000 people we find the largest town in New England and the largest municipal business the world has known under town meeting organization, yet well done, at less expense than under a city charter, and with politics excluded....

A city charter was just what Brookline did not want. It wished to avoid the introduction, into its municipal affairs, of State and National politics which the Legislature now recognizes and encourages in city charters, and which tend to enfeeble municipal public spirit and to promote the election of incompetent and unfaithful officers.

It is hardly possible to say whether the success of the Brookline town government is to be attributed primarily to its form or to the exceptional character of the citizenry identified with it. True, it is a form of government particularly open to observation and therefore particularly free from temptation to individuals of the sort who are accustomed to get rid of temptation by yielding to it. No thief wants to operate in the glare of a spotlight and Brookline's municipal affairs are continually exposed to the searching scrutiny of citizens whose personal interest in public matters is above the ordinary. For the alternative view, it may be said that there is grave doubt that any other American community of nearly fifty thousand could, by the legislative alchemy of a statute providing such a form of government as Brookline has, achieve anything approaching an equivalent result. Probably the method is particularly suited to the people and probably also no other group as large could use that method to the same advantage.

PUBLIC SERVICES

The foundation work for all the modern public conveniences had been laid by the opening of the century. Thereafter it was a question of maintenance and keeping up to date.

The electric trolley came to supplant the horse car, and presently its long-distance possibilities were exploited in interurban lines which enjoyed a brief period of prosperity until they in turn gave way to private motor vehicles and omnibus lines. In 1903 the Boston and Worcester Street Railway began the operation of its cars from the Brookline-Newton line on Boylston Street to Wellesley and Natick. The service was eventually extended to South Framingham, Westboro, and Worcester, and under an operating agreement the cars were run in to Park Square in Boston. But this was not for long, and 1930 saw the trolley line along the Old Worcester Turnpike viewed as a thing of no further use, while the need for a direct and expeditious motor highway between Boston and Worcester had resulted in plans for the conversion of the old road into one of the most modern in the East.

The fire department, activities of which were so closely related to the original interest in a water service, was operating on a highly professional scale in 1904. Forty-two officers and men were employed on a full-time basis, with forty-three others paid to be on call. There were a dozen pieces of efficient fire-fighting apparatus with splendid horses to draw them, housed in seven buildings in various parts of the town — all at an annual cost of about \$70,000. Four years later the fire commissioner decided that automobiles were probably not just a passing fancy, and in 1909 one was put in operation for the chief and a motorized 'combination' was purchased. The experiment proved so satisfactory that the horses were soon completely replaced.

Although it seems that the efficiency of all of Brookline's municipal departments is in some measure noteworthy, perhaps the quality of protection afforded by the fire department is easiest to visualize. In a town with an enormous assessed valuation, fire losses were kept to a round \$57,000, in 1910, \$22,000 in 1920, and \$225,000 in 1930. However, this last figure represents the almost fully insured loss on endangered

buildings which with their contents were valued at \$6,269,000, and curiously enough, according to the fire commissioner's report, were insured for almost \$40,000 more than their value.

The problems of the police department have become increasingly complex since the opening of the century. The character of Brookline's population has of course materially changed and the character of law violation with which the police department had to deal. In 1910 there were only a half-dozen violent crimes in addition to some fifty cases of assault and battery; and apart from nearly three hundred arrests for drunkenness, the police were able to give attention to such matters as fraudulently hiring a horse, gaming on the Lord's Day, keeping a barking dog, refusing to stop a horse when requested by an officer, stubbornness, and unlawfully keeping a library book.

Twenty years later the arrests were nearly three times as many, more than a third of them for violation of motor vehicle laws. A policeman was killed when he questioned two suspicious characters, two stores were held up and there was a bombing supposed to have been the consequence of a gang feud. The task of policing the town had become infinitely more complex and presumably also far more dangerous, but the efficiency of the department continued unimpaired; the unacceptable scheme of earlier years for linking Brookline with Boston by a police telegraph system was adopted in another form in 1929, with the installation of a telegraph-typewriter system linking twenty-two police departments.

Another public protective service which greatly enlarged its scope and usefulness was the board of health. This organization became of increasing importance with its highly departmentalized ramifications. Originally concerned in the main with the prevention of unsatisfactory conditions resulting from the indifference of occasional householders, the health department by 1910 was maintaining a laboratory for the examination of disease cultures, a municipal hospital, a system of milk and food inspection, vaccination and disinfection services; it was taking regular precautions against flies and mosquitoes, supervising the removal of ashes, rubbish and garbage, and giving attention to the health of school children and the improvement of housing conditions. To these services has been added a pro-

gram of child welfare work, provision for the examination of children not yet of school age, and a dental clinic has been set up to care for the teeth of school children.

SOCIAL WORK

Correlated in part with the program of the health department has been the work of the Brookline Friendly Society. This organization had its inception in a free reading room established in the summer of 1878 at the corner of Brookline Avenue and Washington Street by members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. The idea at first was to provide recreational quarters, but this was somewhat expanded with the organization of the Brookline Friendly Society in 1886, and the construction of the Union Building the following year with quarters for a variety of social services.

This work has been much elaborated in the present century, notably in the direction of medical care for the needy. A medical department was opened in 1905 and this was promptly followed by arrangements for the services of visiting nurses. A general secretary was first employed in 1912 and a comprehensive plan of social service was then laid out touching all sides of family life — health, recreation, education, and finances.

Recreational activities were gradually relinquished, but the society's work has been expanded in the direction of baby and pre-natal clinics in connection with a community health center which, in addition to district nursing, provides all necessary nursing care during maternity.

Activities of this organization were centralized in 1926 in the Health Center Building which was transferred to the Friendly Society by the directors of the Day Nursery. At present there are six registered nurses in addition to the director, and five doctors in charge of the clinics. So closely has the work of this voluntary organization met the acknowledged needs of the town that the town has shown a disposition to lend financial aid at least to the extent of paying the salary of the baby welfare nurse. The Brookline Friendly Society has developed a kind of service which apparently, if it is to be effective, must always be carried on as a private rather than an official undertaking, but



HARVEY HUMPHREY BAKER

1869-1915

The first and second judges of the Boston Juvenile Court



FREDERICK PICKERING CABOT

1868-1932

it has made so striking a demonstration in its field that the public necessity of its work has been indelibly impressed upon the community.

The services of two Brookline men for the welfare of delinquent children deserve mention here. Harvey H. Baker, a young Brookline lawyer, was appointed Judge of the Boston Juvenile Court on its establishment in 1906. He had been for a number of years Associate Justice of the local Municipal Court and had worked with problem children in connection with the Boston Children's Aid Association. As Judge of the Juvenile Court he was a pioneer in a new field and set a standard for the conduct of the Court which has been recognized as a great advance in that field. He very early called attention to the need of a clinic to study the more baffling cases, which he felt would lead to more intelligent action. This, however, was not to be accomplished during his life. He died in 1915 in the house on Newton Street where he was born.

Frederick P. Cabot was appointed to succeed Judge Baker in 1916. He was born in Brookline in 1868 and lived there until 1905. A friend and admirer of Judge Baker, he almost immediately took on himself with the help of other friends the establishment of a clinic for the study of juvenile delinquents, which, as a memorial to his predecessor, was named 'The Judge Baker Foundation.' The Juvenile Court under Judge Cabot added to its prestige, while the Judge Baker Foundation under his presidency has become an institution whose worth is known internationally. He had many other public interests, among them the Boston Symphony Orchestra where he succeeded Henry L. Higginson as President of the Board of Trustees. His death in December, 1932, was a great loss.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

With 1905 came the completion of a substantial memorial to a revered early minister of the town, the Pierce Grammar School, built at a cost of \$80,000 on the site of the old school of that name. This was the second considerable building necessary within the century to accommodate the rapidly growing number of children of school age in the town. In 1903 the Heath School at the corner of Boylston Street and Reservoir Lane had

been completed at a cost of \$175,000. By 1914, when a large addition to the Devotion Schools was built, the town's appropriation for the current costs of education amounted to over \$277,000, and in 1930 the total was three times as great. New structures were needed almost annually.

Through these years there has been followed out a program of school administration which has consistently taken account of every promising new prospect in the way of education. In addition to the physical training of boys and girls, and their instruction in practical crafts, there has been special attention to the very serious practical problems of vocational guidance and economic education. School authorities have made an effort to assist students to plan intelligently for themselves, to project their individual careers more effectively and to handle money with foresight. In addition, it has been found helpful to undertake psychiatric studies of certain pupils with a view to a better understanding of the causes of some types of behavior. This is, in a sense, a specialized phase of school health supervision.

In endeavoring to make practical application of the most modern scientific studies, Brookline school authorities have only adhered consistently to the course laid down by their predecessors many years ago. The schools of the community have always been in the first rank among public schools and the endeavor to make possible for pupils the most advantageous development of their talents has always been the aim of the school authorities. There has been a noteworthy readiness to experiment with educational innovations and to discard them as they prove unsatisfactory or to embrace them with enthusiasm if they are found valuable.

In this direction the services of the Brookline Education Society have been extremely helpful. This organization was formed in 1895 with the idea of bringing parents and teachers closer together, enlarging the opportunities afforded by the public schools and studying matters related to education. Thus, when the wisdom of physical training in schools was in doubt, a committee of the society investigated the matter and reported upon the relative merits of military drill, gymnastics, competitive athletics and similar subjects. After the town school de-

partment adopted a program of physical training the committee was no longer maintained, because its purpose had been served.

Other committees dealt with child study, the history of the town, local applications of various sciences, art, music, and school libraries. There was a committee on gymnasiums and playgrounds, and another which promoted a very successful school garden project.

The activities of this body were largely investigative. The members of the Brookline Education Society were driven by an eager desire to be abreast of all important developments in the field of education. They were naturally ahead of official plodders in the same field, as enthusiastic amateurs who were able to point the way and to effect practical progress in the town's school system far more rapidly than would have been the case in the ordinary course of events.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

The public library was increasingly used with the passage of years. In particular it became valuable as an adjunct to the schools. Library facilities proved inadequate for the rapidly growing community and the old building was removed while in use, in the summer of 1909. The splendid new structure was ready for occupancy in 1910, being dedicated on November 17. At the close of that year the book collection amounted to over 73,000 volumes; a decade later it exceeded 103,000 volumes, and at the end of 1930 there were more than 135,000 volumes. The library then maintained three branches, two sub-branches, and a great many agencies mostly in connection with the public schools.

This expansion reflects not only a normal healthy growth of the institution but a very much increased use of its facilities by the public. In fact the new library public does not seem always to have shown the respect for property that seems to have characterized earlier days and some visitors have evidenced so great a love of books as to appropriate them without the formality of mentioning the fact. This has resulted in the imposition of some restrictions upon borrowers, but altogether the institution may be said to have met its new opportunities with

continually enlarging resources and to have made its services an invaluable part of the town's equipment for education. Much of the success of the library in this direction is attributable to the directive talents of Miss Louisa M. Hooper, who succeeded Charles Knowles Bolton as librarian when he went to take charge of the Boston Athenæum.

MILITARY AFFAIRS

The long mooted question of a monument to Brookline's Civil War Soldiers came finally to a head only a little while before World War memorials were being discussed. Urged at intervals during the years that had passed since minority and majority factions had so effectually discounted each other's efforts, the monument became a reality, at a cost of \$40,000, in 1915. This took the form of a statue of a mounted trumpeter, designed by Edward Clark Potter. It was dedicated on October 9, with the customary exercises by school children and a speech by the Governor.

When America's participation in the World War became inevitable, Brookline hastened to bear more than her share of the military burden. Either by voluntary enlistment or through operation of the Selective Service Act, 1841 young men of Brookline saw service in the United States military forces. This number represented about five per cent of the town's total estimated population of 37,000.¹

The home community acquitted itself with distinction in Red Cross and Liberty Loan drives, while its young manhood battled overseas. Citizens were encouraged to cultivate gardens, and the lawns of great estates were put under the plow. Then, after the war came programs for the care of ex-service men, largely under the sponsorship of Dr. George K. Sabine, known as 'the Legion's daddy.'

THE MODERN PICTURE

Brookline today in the character of its citizenry and the manner of its government, bears certain striking resemblances to the Brookline of three centuries ago. Even in those fields in which

¹ The town's Honor Roll of those whose lives were sacrificed in the World War is printed in the *Proceedings* of the Brookline Historical Society for 1919.



DR. GEORGE K. SABINE
1847-1927

Long an able practitioner. Known as the Legion's 'Daddy' because of his interest in the veterans

the sharpest differences might be remarked, there may still be said to be a resemblance to that earlier Brookline, for the difference is mainly a reflection of the spirit of progress and the spirit of progress has always animated the community.

One ancient custom that has survived the passage of years is the perambulation of the boundary lines, still duly performed by representatives of the town in 1930. In these days of precise surveying this is probably not a necessary precaution but merely one of the cherished relics of a time when it was the only assurance that boundaries would be mutually understood and scrupulously maintained.

The protective services which began with a single constable, mainly concerned with the collection of taxes, have been enlarged into a variety of departments. A police department, efficiently organized by a capable head, has been maintained and improved to the point where it is probably as effective as any such organization can be in the face of modern conditions. The companies of men who ran with the fire engine and met for chowder suppers have given place to a fire department with a notable record for competent performance. Services that were not dreamed of in the days of Muddy River have become necessary with the vanishing of the last stage of the frontier, for a program for safeguarding public health became inevitable with the growth of the town.

Not until the green fields had all but disappeared beneath brick and pavements did the realization become impressive that something of their beauty must be preserved. The common lands of Muddy River had existed as a matter of economic convenience for the inhabitants who were enabled to pasture some at least of their cows conveniently at hand. The common lands of 1930 are of course not for the pasturing of cattle, but for the pleasure and recreation and health of the community. The necessity of providing such spaces has meant the creation of parks and the appointment of public officials to plan and supervise them.

Planning, particularly as it relates to parks, the layout of the community, and the types of buildings which may be constructed and the uses to which they may be put, is a matter seldom recognized as important until it is almost too late. In Brookline,

however, foresighted citizens anticipated the needs of the future and undertook, often in the face of uncomprehending opposition, to assure provision for them. A careful program of planning has been evolved; the provision of parks and playgrounds and a golf course, and the protection and replacement of shade trees have all been taken into consideration.

The Brookline of today is remarkable as a community, justly proud of a distinguished past, yet not content to rest upon the glory that has gone before. A disposition to boast too much of the past is likely to predicate the sterility of the future, but Brookline has found in its past not so much a boast as honest pride; and even less of honest pride than of inspiration for the future.

The 'poor little town' of three centuries ago is today the wealthiest community under that form of government in the world. It has demonstrated the efficacy of responsible government in its most intimate form at a time when misgovernment and corruption have been rampant. It has adhered to fundamental principles from which it has allowed a minimum of swerving for three centuries.

Brookline has faced charges of extravagance and has met them with proof that it is not extravagance but sound economy to buy the best of whatever is reasonably necessary, provided the community finances are adequate. If Brookline spends more per capita on the education of its children than other communities, it is because the town believes that the education of children is a matter so important that it should be done in the very best feasible way. The same principle may be applied to the other public services. Extravagance can only mean buying something desirable for more than it is worth or something unfit or unnecessary at any price. Brookline's record of three hundred years reveals no blots of extravagance.

Here, then, is a community which has learned, as so few have, that great lesson emphasized by the younger Pitt in his famous reply to Walpole, in which he said: 'The atrocious crime of being a young man, which the honorable gentleman has with such spirit and decency charged upon me, I shall neither attempt to palliate nor deny; but content myself with wishing that I may be one of those whose follies may cease with their

youth, and not of that number who are ignorant in spite of experience.' Brookline has been of the fortunate few. It has enjoyed instructive experience, incorporated in a history replete with the sagacity of sturdy New England character, and has profited, as it continues to profit, by that experience.

THE END

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To
all concerned



